Templegoing Teens: the Religiosity and Identity of Buddhists growing up in Britain

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Contents

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Abstract

A quantitative study explored the values profile of teen self-identifying Buddhists growing up in Britain and the degree to which religious affiliation, sex, age, social class and convert or heritage religious style linked with features of their Buddhist identity and values. A variety of attitude statements including those concerning personal well-being, psychological type, discrimination, the media, friends, work, school, Religious Education, family, substance use, collectivism, tradition and religion, were rated for levels of agreement using postal and online surveys of 417 self-identifying Buddhists aged between 13 and 20. Likely antecedents of Buddhist identity were found to include parenting style, spiritual teachers, temple training and ethos, shrines and religious practice in the home, collectivism, cleavage against assimilation and intuitive psychological type. Teen years saw a decline and relativising of Buddhist values except for inspiration towards engaged Buddhism and spending time in the monastic order. Likely consequences of Buddhist identity were found to include impact on lifestyle, commitments and personality. Being Buddhist and male was different from being Buddhist and female in that males were more extraverted and ordination-oriented in their faith aspirations and less concerned about their children growing up Buddhist. Lower class Buddhists were more likely to be collectivist and traditional. Middle class Buddhists were more vertical individualist and interested in a monastic vocation. In terms of religious style, heritage Buddhists were found to be more extrinsic and traditional in their religiosity than convert Buddhists for whom religiosity was more intrinsic and reform orientated. This dissertation offers quantitative evidence for individual differences between convert and heritage Buddhist styles of religiosity and commends emphasising religious practice rather than beliefs, scripture and spirituality when portraying Buddhism in school Religious Education.

Abbreviations

AASR – Australian Association for the Study of Religion
AFAN – All Faiths and None
CBT – Cognitive Behavioural Therapy or Convert (Convert-raised) Buddhist teen
CENTYMCA – Central YMCA, London
CofE – the Church of England
CW – Collective Worship
DES – Department of Education and Science
FE – Further Education
FSAC – Francis Scale of Attitude toward Christianity
FWBO – Friends of the Western Buddhist Order
GCE – General Certificate of Education
GCSE – General Certificate of Secondary Education
HaFVI – Halsall-Francis Values Inventory
HBT – Heritage Buddhist teen
H-C – Horizontal collectivism
H-I – Horizontal individualism
HMSO – Her Majesty's Stationery Office
HoIT – House of Inner Tranquility
IOM – International Organization for Migration
I – self-selection ratio for psychological type
IQ – Intelligence Quotient
JEPQ – Junior Eysenck Personality Questionnaire
JEPQ-R – Revised Junior Eysenck Personality Questionnaire
LSI – Lifestyle Index
MBSR – Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction
MBTI – Myers-Briggs Type Indicator
MOS – Mystical Orientation Scale
M-Scale – Mysticism Scale
NBO – Network of Buddhist Organizations
NIRO – New Index for Religious Orientation
NKT – the New Kadampa Tradition
OECD – Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OPCS – Office of Population Censuses and Surveys
RE – Religious Education
REEM – Religious Experience Episodes Measure
RUA – Religiously-Undifferentiated Adolescents
SEC – Socio-economic Classification
ScAttRE-s – Short Scale of Attitude towards Religious Education
SGI-UK – Soka Gakkai International of the United Kingdom
SIMO – Short Index of Mystical Orientation
SLSCO-FLAME – Sri Lanka Social and Cultural Organization - Friends of Lanka for Aid, Mentoring and Education
SRM – Serene Reflection Meditation
SSIBC – Sri Saddhatissa International Buddhist Centre
SSRT – Self-selection ratio table for psychological type
TSAB – Thanissaro's Scale of Attitude towards Buddhism
TSCS – Tennessee Self-Concept Scale
V-C – Vertical collectivism
V-I – Vertical individualism
WVS – World Values Survey
YPSA – Young People's Social Attitudes survey

Psychological Type Abbreviations

E – Extravert orientation
I – Introvert orientation
N – Intuitive function
S – Sensing function
T – Thinking function
F – Feeling function
P – Perceiving attitude
J – Judging attitude

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This dissertation is dedicated
to temple-going teens everywhere.
May the future of Buddhism prosper at your hand.

Chapter 1

Introduction

"The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity."

The Second Coming
W.B. Yates

Even the best-written of dissertations would seldom be regarded as the uninformed reader's first port of call in finding out about a new subject. Nonetheless, there is one way in which dissertations outdo their tightly-written and polished derivatives, the academic book – and this has to do with the rigour of their methodological justification. Often in carving out intellectual territory involved with making an original contribution to knowledge, in dissertations the epistemologies of whole new fields of knowledge are conceived. Especially for Religious Education (which many feel deserves a subject field to itself) research space along the traditional borders of the supervising faculties, in the absence of editorial boards and statements of scope, gives dissertations the chance to float free of the conventional subject moorings. This dissertation may not necessarily stray far from the beaten track of ethnological studies in Buddhism, which are no stranger to the study of Buddhists in the West. Hosting such research however, in a centre for education studies, with the necessary emphasis on young people, and an educator's aspiration to unravel processes of nurture useful to teachers, applying quantitative methodology in the nuanced way shown in previous equivalent research to unmask the complexities of religious identities in a way that allows educational stakeholders to remain informed and inclusive of the Buddhist 'other' in the classroom and curriculum – all of these aspirations of the present dissertation might be considered to combine conventional forms associated with Buddhist Studies in novel ways. Moreover, with the addition of psychometrics and psychological type to the methodology, it will become clear that the intellectual territory researched in this dissertation is hitherto unexplored.

This dissertation has been written in an exciting decade where UK Buddhism has grown by 30% and there has been a shift in the ethnic demographic from majority convert to majority heritage practice, changes that have left empirical literature behind in their attempt to portray a normative Buddhist *modus vivendi*. Teachers have been left without information and lacking a framework around which to design inclusive RE curricula, and meanwhile a politicised storm rages around the issues of extremism and radicalism as they relate to religion, without care taken to heed cautious objective research into religious identity and its consequences, deconstructing the process of religious nurture. Outside the field of education, lack of normative understanding has also left dangerous lacunae in the dealings of mental health and forensic professionals in their dealings with young Buddhists.

The research for this dissertation commenced with the expectation that the project would likely achieve little more than exploring the presence or lack of temple-based social capital amongst heritage Buddhist teenagers with the anticipation that like in the United States (Feliciano, 2001) some Asians and Buddhists would succeed while others become part of a 'rainbow underclass'. The research yielded surprises therefore, when it was able to survey significant numbers of convert and 'stay-at-home' Buddhists. In my research extending back to 2009, it has been necessary to move beyond anecdotal evidence by bringing together hunches and instruments developed through my own preliminary qualitative and quantitative publications in one large scale project that might give a completer picture of Buddhist religiosity.

It has also been necessary to link with the whole field of Buddhist Studies which habitually uses a completely different set of methodologies and to correct the tendency in academic writing to trivialize cultural accretions of Buddhism even though they are thought important by Buddhists themselves. This dissertation has been a pioneering opportunity to achieve the aforementioned objectives.

Overall research aim and individual research objectives

The overall aim of this research project was to explore for self-identifying Buddhist teenagers in Britain, patterns of Buddhist religiosity, especially: to identify its antecedents, to establish how nurture activities develop young peoples' religiosity, to identify its components and to discover the consequences for lifestyle, commitment and personality. The project set out to explore issues of Buddhist identity and its development in self-identifying Buddhists and where possible to compare Buddhist identity and religiosity with those of other faith traditions.

Outline Structure of this Dissertation

This first chapter is intended to provide background, outline the research questions for the study and describe the structure of this dissertation.

In consideration of who 'counts' as a Buddhist in Britain, chapter two gives an overview of convert Buddhism in Britain brought up to date for the 2010s and challenging the dominance of convert-style Buddhism in the previous academic

discourse. Buddhism is linked with the literature of religious and cultural assimilation and it is proposed that conversion to Buddhism is different from conversion in other religions, proposing religious 'style' as a more useful concept than mere ethnic demographics.

In consideration of another group which 'counts' as a Buddhist in Britain, but which has often been ignored in the academic discourse, chapter three gives a never before been attempted overview of heritage Buddhism in Britain, estimating the number of heritage Buddhists in the country. Religion is proposed as the keystone of segmented assimilation (ethnic assertiveness) with temple-based activities regarded as perpetuation or plausibility structures by heritage Buddhists.

Chapter four gives an operational overview of experimentally testable aspects of the psychology of religion and locates Buddhism in Social Learning Theory and the psychology of individual differences.

Chapter five defines Buddhist values experimentally and gives an overview of how individual differences affect secular values.

Chapter six defines components of religiosity in a way compatible with Buddhism, giving an overview of the adaptation of measures of attitude towards non-Christian religiosities.

Chapter seven bridges a methodological gap in Buddhist Studies to justify the use of quantitative methods in a way that brings Buddhism into dialogue with psychology of religion and the psychology of individual differences.

Chapter eight reports findings concerning Buddhist teen emotional well-being, containing sub-sections on well-being and worries – analysing these in terms of the individual differences of religious affiliation, sex-differences, age-differences, socio-economic group and religious style.

Chapter nine reports findings concerning socialization into religion, containing sub-sections on family, friends and work – analysing these in terms of the individual differences of religious affiliation, sex-differences, age-differences, socio-economic group and religious style.

Chapter ten reports findings concerning education, containing sub-sections on school and Religious Education – analysing these in terms of the individual differences of religious affiliation, sex-differences, age-differences, socio-economic group and religious style.

Chapter eleven reports findings concerning Buddhist teen social issues, containing sub-sections on stereotyping and discrimination, social concern, the media and collectivism – analysing these in terms of the individual differences of religious affiliation, sex-differences, age-differences, socio-economic group and religious style.

Chapter twelve reports findings concerning Buddhist teen moral conscience, containing sub-sections on right and wrong, substance use and traditionalism – analysing these in terms of the individual differences of religious affiliation, sex-differences, age-differences, socio-economic group and religious style.

Chapter thirteen reports findings concerning Buddhist teen religious values, containing sub-sections on religious involvement, theistic belief, religious convictions, religion and society, the supernatural and attitude towards Buddhism – analysing these in terms of the individual differences of religious affiliation, sex-differences, age-differences, socio-economic group and religious style.

Chapter fourteen reports findings concerning the patterns of Buddhist teen psychological type associated with being Buddhist, sex-differences, age-differences, socio-economic group and religious style.

Chapter fifteen revisits the overall aim and specific objectives of this research study in the light of the findings. The contributions to knowledge made by this research are summarized and linked to these research objectives. Based on these conclusions, recommendations for further research are made. The limitations of the work are also highlighted. Lastly, a section on self-reflection is included, providing the reader with a personal reflection on the process that has been undertaken to complete this work.

The references section contains an alphabetical listing of the sources referred to in this work. The Harvard system of referencing (author-date system) is used.

Appendices A-G contain the full statistical tables from Chapters 8-14 respectively, while Appendix H contains an example of the survey used and the ethical consent paperwork.

Chapter 2

The Convert style of Buddhist Religiosity in Britain

"I don't believe in trying to turn Westerners into Easterners. People who have failed at Christianity aren't likely to make great Buddhists. You can't neglect the demands of geography and race in determining what people can seriously believe."

W. Robertson Davies (1991, 23)

Chapter Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to provide background against which the values mapping for young Buddhists from Chapter 8 onwards can be clearly appreciated in the context of other competing identity influences. Apart from fulfilling an important scene-setting role in this dissertation as a whole, this chapter makes several new contributions to knowledge: it brings the overview of convert Buddhism in the UK up to date for the 2010s; it questions the hitherto unchallenged dominance of convert-style Buddhism in academic studies of this religion in Britain; it links Buddhism with the literature describing religious and cultural assimilation as a process; it proposes that conversion to Buddhist affiliation is a process different from conversion to other religions and it approaches Buddhism through religious *style* rather than previous examinations that have restricted themselves to demographic, social or missiological commentary and in doing so, adds quantitative and individual differences approaches to what Kate Crosby (2008) has hailed as a new landscape of Buddhist Studies.

This chapter starts by justifying making a distinction between convert and heritage Buddhism, then examines the convert style of Buddhist religiosity in Britain. It goes on to describe what previous studies tell us of convert Buddhism in Britain in terms of its provenance and denominations, its authority and representation, its assimilation into the British infrastructure and its possible trends for the future. Convert Buddhism is presented here in contrast to the subject of 'heritage' Buddhism which I will take up in more detail in Chapter 3.

Some Key Terms

The word 'Buddhism' has, in some places, given way to the term 'Buddhisms' since the singular has been criticised as describing too broad a range of beliefs and practices to be meaningful (Baird, 1991, 139) and for post-colonial connotations of 'orientalist' outlook (Almond, 1988; Said, 1978). Nonetheless it remains a term useful, at least in reference to the variety of practices that come from the common doctrinal foundation of the Buddha (Seiwert, 1986; Waterhouse, 2001, 120).

Religiosity can be defined as a disposition, built up through experience, to respond favourably in certain habitual ways to conceptual objects and principles that the individual regards as of ultimate importance in their own life and as having to do with what they regard as permanent or central in the nature of things (Allport & Ross, 1967, 14). At this point in the dissertation, I touch only upon a generic definition of 'religiosity' with the caveat that it can contain various sub-dimensions which can be measured separately – a detailed definition for each of which will be given later in Chapter 6. It should be pointed out from the outset, that religiosity remains a highly contested term – and in many places, the term is used loosely, with a meaning often different to its sense as a measurable variable in the psychology of religion. Nonetheless, at this stage it is pertinent, in addition to Allport and Ross's definition to add that more recently, in order to distinguish religiosity from spirituality, psychologists of religion have added to this definition that religiosity incorporates components that are cognitive, affective and behavioural and that it may require

an institutional framework and an expectation that it is based in a concept of 'authenticity' that requires some sort of consensus (Hood, Hill & Spilka, 2009, 11).

In the effort to model religiosity, more than 125 measurement scales have been constructed (Hill & Hood, 1999). The fact that the majority of these measures have been grounded in the Christian tradition makes it questionable to assume automatic transferability to other faith traditions. Sometimes for religiosity, different words seem to have been used for the same thing (or at least its sub-dimensions). Terms favoured by Argyle and Beit-Hallahmi (1975) after Glock (1962), but also used by Hill and Hood (1999) and Francis (2009a, 128)] have included variously 'religiousness'[1] (Hood, Hill & Spilka, 2009), 'individual religion' and 'religious orientation'[2] (Batson, Schoenrade & Ventis, 1993, 160-1). Measuring religiosity has received increased empirical attention in the last three decades especially since the advent of multiple regression technologies – building up a body of knowledge about its psychological correlates, antecedents (e.g. Gunnoe & Moore, 2002) and consequences. Religiosity would formerly be analysed along the dimensions of ritual, consequence and experience (Rohrbaugh & Jessor, 1975) but more recently has come to include aspects of affiliation, self-definition and belief in God (Loewenthal, 1995). Sometimes the same word 'religiosity' has been used to refer to different things – for example, de Visser (2007) might tell us (in the same abstract!) that 'religious belief is equal to religious denomination' and 'religiosity includes practice

[1]The term for the UK term 'religiosity' favoured in American English and editorial style.
[2]Although this is not measured as a unidimensional scale but most recently incorporated the intrinsic-, extrinsic- and quest-religious orientations.

or the subjective importance of religion'. The word 'religiosity' has been used interchangeably with the term 'attitude toward religion' (O'Connor, Cobb & O'Connor, 2003) – whereas in other literature, a clear distinction is made between the terms.[3] In this literature review, I have limited my comparison of studies to those where use of terms is relatively tightly defined – and for my own purposes, I have been careful in the use of categories of measure.

The term 'religious style' is usually associated with Strieb's (2001) modification to religious stage theory which implies differences of 'maturity' between styles. In this dissertation, the style distinction I have made between convert and heritage Buddhists is between the cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects of their *religiosity*, without any implied judgement of the maturity of their religious involvement.

This chapter is not so much concerned with religious experience (a sub-dimension of religiosity) as with religiosity (in general), nevertheless as there has been a long history of trying to define mysticism, and any attempt is likely to be contested and encounter conceptual criticism. It has been defined as an ineffable mode of experimental knowledge of divine things (Bouyer, 1980, 51). Operationally speaking, it would appear that at the empirical level there seems to be a distinction between mystical experience and its interpretation or evaluation (Hood, Hill & Spilka, 2009, 338). It has however, been given a precise psychological meaning which can be quantified in terms of Hood's M-Scale (Hood, 1975) or the 21-item Francis-Louden

[3] See Chapter 6, p.141 of this dissertation for the distinction between the two definitions.

Mystical Orientation Scale [MOS](Francis & Louden, 2000a) and more recently the derivative nine-question Short Index of Mystical Orientation [SIMO](Francis & Louden, 2004) or Johannes van der Ven's identification of self-transcendence with absorption, identification and mysticism (van der Ven, 2010, 48).

Any religion faces challenges when presented with a new location, developing strategies for the continuity of age-old traditions which may cause selection (Knott, 1986, 9). The UK is a country where Buddhists from many different places in the world, including the 'home-grown' Buddhists of Britain, live cheek by jowl, while sharing the status of an emerging religion. In some situations, Buddhism has been artificially adapted with a particular audience in mind – a process that has sometimes been referred to as 'pruning the Bodhi tree' (Hubbard & Swanson, 1997) – but the process can equally happen by more unintentional means. Until now, horticultural metaphors have been pressed into service to conceptualize religious assimilation (for example religious 'offshoots' and 'transplant' religion). It would appear, however, that the complexity of the assimilation process evidenced when religious traditions and groups arrive in new countries may necessitate a conceptualization of religious assimilation that focuses more on the *processes* than the products (Prebish, 1993, 200-201) with Baumann and Pye's categories of hybridity or creolization and Hickey's (2010, 14-15) sequence of contact, confrontation, resolution of ambiguities, recoupment and finally innovative self-development seeming better to represent the real situation. Similarly focussed on process and the differences between established and emergent religion, it has been

noted that it is not uncommon for emergent religions to become established religions within a couple of generations (Ellwood & Partin, 1988; Prebish, 1993, 201).

The process view of assimilation might lead us to expect that a first generation of Buddhists in the UK would remain conservative to the identity features most tenacious for Buddhists in the country of origin (i.e. a heritage style of religiosity) and that later there would be adaptation towards a Buddhist identity shaped more by features of local relevance to Britain (i.e. a convert style of religiosity). Below I shall argue that these two positions are sufficiently different to warrant their separate examination. Although most of the relevant literature available for review deals with the features of social groups or 'missiologies' rather than the more psychologically measurable variables of religiosity, I have drawn on findings relevant to my discussion in more or less chronological order of provenance of these identities to the UK – starting with the style of religiosity most common in 'home-grown' Buddhism in this chapter and moving on to examine the style of Buddhist religiosity more common in those of Asian ancestry in Chapter 3 – although it could equally be argued that for the non-Western world, the heritage style of Buddhist religiosity is chronologically older. Justification for examination of both styles of religiosity for templegoing teens in the UK is that it would be expected that they would exhibit elements of both.

It might be expected that the Buddhisms that are home-grown and derived from Asian ancestry would be proportionately represented in issues of authority concerning Buddhism in Britain. In fact this is often far from the case, with very

little interest by those of Asian ancestry in matters of Buddhist importance outside their own communities. Buddhist representation in Britain is piecemeal – there being no central authority – perhaps akin to some movements of social transformation which have 'no defined head but loose links amongst the parts' (Gerlach & Hine, 1970, 19). That the convert Buddhist style was first to dominate Buddhist identity in Britain has also affected the issue of authority – and this is why most of the official representatives of Buddhism in Britain are 'converts' unlike other religions with high proportions of heritage practitioners. At its inception the Buddhist Society provided representation for the groups in Britain – but in the early 1990s became increasingly unable to represent the full diversity of interest in British groups (Waterhouse, 2001, 154) – especially with the invitation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama in 1993. Since that time Buddhists have agreed to work beneath an umbrella organization called the 'Network of Buddhist Organizations' (NBO) formed of representatives from the larger Buddhist organizations in Britain, which has consultation status with the government on behalf of smaller sectarian Buddhist organizations. In her survey of Buddhist groups in Britain, Alison Church noted the increasing role of lay Buddhists as founders and spiritual directors of convert Buddhist groups (1982, 196). The NBO, Buddhist Society and Clearvision Trust[4] were in 2015, the sole Buddhist representatives on the Religious Education Council of the UK.

[4] Education publishers for the Triratna Buddhist Community.

Helen Waterhouse (1999) has given one of the clearest explanation of the basis of authority in British Buddhism – defining it in terms of legitimacy and authenticity. Observing how the dilemma of perpetuating leadership at the Karma Paksi community in Bath was resolved, she has defined 'legitimacy' as authority invested according to traditional lineages, often based in Asia – while 'authenticity' refers to the example set in practice by those in authority and the results, in terms of personal experience, of studying Buddhism from those in (more accepted positions of) authority. Western converts have been observed trying to reconcile these two sources of authority (Waterhouse 1995). Additionally, Andrew Rawlinson has suggested that liberalism in the adapted 'convert' traditions of Buddhism in Britain may have replaced the authenticity of an unbroken historical lineage (1994, 364).

The Convert style of religiosity in Britain

How historically the convert style developed in Britain

Like Christianity and Islam, Buddhism in Britain, attracts adherents from a full range of ethnicities (Bluck, 2004). In trying to make sense of Buddhist plurality in the West, scholars have, amongst other taxonomies,[5] observed a twofold typology of Buddhist identity between heritage[6] and convert Buddhists (Numrich, 1996). The word 'convert' as it relates to Buddhists generally means 'Caucasians who practise

[5] There are also several other twofold [see Numrich (2003)] and threefold taxonomies of Buddhism in America, including those of Nattier (1995)[elite-ethnic-evangelical], Seager (1999, 9-10) [convert – immigrant/refugee – old-line], Prebish (1993, 200-201) [ethnic religion – export religion – new religion], Tweed (2002) [cradle – convert – sympathizer], Layman (1976) [evangelical – church-like – meditational] and Baumann (2002) [traditionalist – modernist – post-modernist].

[6] Unlike Numrich, I have chosen this term to indicate the importance of the *inheritance* of the Buddhist tradition rather than having to deal with the racial implications of the near-synonyms 'ethnic' or 'immigrant'.

Buddhism' (Wallace, 2002, 34) – and stereotypically, those whose ancestry is *not* Asian and whose heritage is *not* Buddhist (Hickey, 2010, 1). The idea of 'convert' Buddhists having a *degree* of seriousness toward their practice different from that of heritage Buddhists started with Charles Prebish's (1979) references to 'White Buddhism'. Numrich (1996) later used the same dichotomy to make an ethnic distinction in *style* of practice (Hickey, 2010, 2n3). Numrich first introduced the distinction between convert and heritage Buddhists to explain differences in style of practice he observed between 'parallel congregations' frequenting the same Sinhalese and Thai Buddhist temples in America.

An ideal-type of practice for convert Buddhists might be described as eschewing monasticism and devotions, de-emphasizing the ethical precepts (except in the wake of scandals) and tending to look down on Buddhists concerned with worldly benefits or social activities (Nattier, 1995, 42-49). Considered in more detail, Stark and Bainbridge (1985) have added to this definition that 'convert' Buddhists may conceivably be members of an audience for Buddhist teachings who participate occasionally in Buddhist meditation retreats; who enter into a student relationship with a Buddhist teacher, or; who have a self-conscious sense of having converted to Buddhism and therefore refer to themselves not merely as having an *interest* in Buddhism, but as *being* Buddhist.

By contrast, the term 'heritage' Buddhist (or variously the near-synonymous 'immigrant', 'migrant', 'ethnic', 'cradle', 'old-line' or 'indigenous' Buddhist) means Buddhists (and, to some extent, their descendents) ethnically connected with

countries where Buddhism has a dominant presence and who strive to preserve and perpetuate the Buddhist tradition in the western country in which they reside.

Buddhism found its first converts in the British population amongst the scholars and orientalists (Bell, 2000, 399) – although to some extent they reinvented Buddhism as a religion based on *experience* rather than faith and where Buddhist ethics, doctrine, art and ritual could be essentialised into a form of meditation experience (Sharf, 1995). Academic study continued in the same vein until the 1960s – being the domain of linguists and philologists, orientalists and historians. It is only since the 1970s that a body of academic literature on Buddhism has started to grow from more diverse viewpoints such as ethics, diaspora studies, bio-ethics, social anthropology, human rights and sociology (de Jong, 1990).

Who counts as a Buddhist?

Should a young person be considered Buddhist merely because they (or their parents) *say* they are or because they say they are interested in Buddhism on their Facebook page? Rosalind Fane (1999) has observed for religious affiliation in Christians that answering the seemingly simple question of who *is* religious and who *is not* religious is no more simple than explaining different *ways* of expressing religiosity and the same observation is likely to be true for Buddhism – a question that I will return to later in Chapter 4 as part of the discussion of religious orientation. What can certainly be stated in the meantime, however, is that Buddhist adherence is far from being

merely a matter of British people *converting* to Buddhism and affiliation is not just a homogenous all-or-nothing phenomenon (Thanissaro, 2010d, 71).

Buddhist affiliation can be understood in terms of degree, denomination and ethnic type – this chapter taking up the topics of degree and denomination of adherence within convert Buddhism – affiliation within the heritage Buddhist community being described in Chapter 3.

Degree of Buddhist Affiliation

The 2011 UK census was a *general* survey touching on many demographics without going into great depth on any one subject. It allowed for a single question concerning religion and the question chosen was that of the respondent's self-ascribed religious affiliation – and even Kitchen et al.'s (2006) question of whether respondents were 'actively practising their religion' was removed after the pilots.

Some might focus on the *limitations* of self-ascribed religious affiliation as a proxy for other aspects of religiosity – since, it has been shown to have many shortcomings in this respect. Rosalind Fane defending self-ascribed religious affiliation for Christians against accusations of nominalism, admitted that its accuracy as an indicator of general religiosity depends on denomination (1999, 115). Also Francis (2009a, 129) concedes that religious affiliation may not function as a *secure* predictor of other dimensions of religiosity such as belief or practice. Furthermore, the incongruence of between 0 and 4+% between 'identifiers' in Australia and church 'attenders' reported by Bouma and Hughes (1998) would indicate that it is not only

denomination that needs to be controlled for, when using self-ascribed affiliation as sole indicator of religiosity, but also the *age* of the respondents. As with some of the Christian denominations, for Buddhism there is a substantial body of evidence to question the accuracy of equating Buddhist religiosity with self-ascribed affiliation (Tweed, 2002, 24).

Nonetheless, it is important for me to emphasise that this measure remains of prime importance, not so much as a proxy for religiosity but as a construct empirical theologians and social scientists evaluate *in its own right* for its potential to reveal underlying aspects of religiosity and identity – a construct we can begin to understand in comparison with other features of religious identity. It is a measure which may help to reveal underlying aspects of Buddhist religiosity and as such is important, since in this study whether participants self-identify as Buddhist is the main independent variable used as a selection criteria. This indicator was the most informative any *single* measure of religiosity could be, since given that religion is widely conceptualized as a multi-dimensional phenomenon (e.g. Smart, 1992), self-ascribed affiliation as a socio-psychological phenomenon, stands as a bridge between the public and private dimensions of religious commitment (Beit-Hallahmi, 1991, 91). Using this measure, the 2011 census reported the number of Buddhists in England and Wales to be 247,743.[7]

In the context of Buddhism, I do not doubt Fane's conclusion that self-ascribed affiliation to religion is socially significant. Nonetheless, when designing the survey

[7] from dcp171778_290685.pdf

for this particular piece of research, since questionnaire length did not limit me to a single religious question, I expected a more accurate understanding of Buddhist religiosity to be gleaned from measure of *multiple* dimensions of religiosity (of which self-ascribed religious affiliation would be the primary qualifying criterion for including a participant's data as representative of a Buddhist worldview). In the meantime I remained cautious in drawing conclusions from previous studies of Buddhists that have relied on any single measure of religiosity, including that of self-ascribed affiliation. In comparison of affiliation and practice, 62% of self-ascribed UK Buddhists considered themselves to be *actively* practising their religion (Kitchen et al., 2006).

Counting Buddhists in Britain by self-ascribed affiliation, again turns out to be less than straightforward. Our most reliable data comes from the 2011 Census but these were coded based on the assumption that a person would belong to only *one* religion at a time – a forced choice that would fail to reflect the true loyalties of at least some Buddhists where dual affiliation has been observed – whether it be Nepalese Buddhists [who Maslak (2003, 45) has shown hold dual Hindu and Buddhist affiliations], Sinhalese Buddhists who, even in Britain, venerate deities alongside the Triple Gem (Deegalle, 2004, 67), Pure Land Buddhists (Cobb, 1978) or convert Buddhists (Drew, 2008). Although these assumptions may sound trivial, they may inform misleadingly low figures for the number of Buddhists in England (Bluck, 2004) as there is a reluctance reported in theory (Gombrich, 1996, 11) and in practice (Law, 1991, 36; Loundon, 2001, 195; Miller, 1992, 144) for Buddhists to

categorize themselves as such, often more mindful of *quality* of adherence than quantity (Luce & Sommer, 1969, 113). A similar perception in quality of adherence has been noted by Eleanor Nesbitt (1999) amongst young Sikhs in Britain. The dichotomy between Buddhist 'adherents' and 'non-adherents' in the West is further complicated by the category of 'sympathizers' (Tweed, 1999, 71-2; 2002, 20) – a subgroup which has proved numerically significant in countries like France (Lenoir, 1999).

The UK Census figures of 2011 tell us that self-ascribed Buddhists comprise only 0.4% of the total UK population but this proportion may reach figures as high as 3.3% in Rushmoor, Hampshire or 1.7% in parts of London. According to the 2001 census[8] two-fifths are White or Black Buddhists (ONS, 2004, 33) conforming with ethnic categories that can be included in the 'convert' Buddhist group.

Denominations

Given that affiliation to different denominations of convert Buddhism might be linked to differences in what the affiliates count as religiosity, some understanding of these denominations is helpful context to the findings presented from Chapter 8 onwards. A further layer of complexity added to affiliation is that those who say they are Buddhist in Britain may belong to any of several different largely autonomous Buddhist denominations (Church, 1982, 194; Padgett, 2002, 201). Although Hickey (2010, 20) cautions scholars to be sensitive to how members of Buddhist groups describe themselves, giving a fair overview is not made easier when

[8] The ethnic breakdown of Buddhists in the 2011 census data was not yet available at the time of writing.

the wide spectrum of Buddhist practice and teacher loyalty often causes members who are 'insiders' to one denomination *not* to recognize those from other Buddhist denominations as insiders to their own (Stringer, 2002, 2-3; Waterhouse, 1999, 21) and even to criticize them openly (Waterhouse, 2001, 150). Having noted the strengths and weaknesses of self-ascribed religious affiliation for Buddhists, we can move forward with the awareness that when describing 'Buddhist insiders', we should be cautious about essentialising to a single 'ideal type' (Mellor, 1989, 341-2).

Denominations of Buddhism in Britain have been marked by both increase and diversification. In 1968, the only three denominations mentioned as being present in Britain were the Theravâda, Tibetan and Zen (Humphreys, 1968). A decade later, the Friends of the Western Buddhist Order (FWBO)[9] merited a whole chapter of a history of Buddhism in Britain although the influence of Buddhism was not considered beyond its impact on the convert population (Oliver, 1979). Some idea of the expansion of convert Buddhism in Britain can be gauged by the number of Buddhist organizations listed in *The Buddhist Directory* which grew from 10 in 1971, to 36 in 1972 (Candamitto, 1972, 5), 74 in 1979, 76 in 1981 to 107 in 1983 (Connolly, 1985, 12) with 201 groups in 1991 and 359 in 2001 (Bluck, 2006, 13). In the mid-2000s, convert Buddhist groups accounted for approximately 93% of the 492 Buddhist *organizations* and centres listed in *The Buddhist Directory* (Buddhist Society, 2007) often giving the impression of a presence that is more significant

[9] Hereafter referred to, except in the citation of previously published FWBO literature, as 'Triratna Buddhist Community' (TBC) since the decision of the organization on 27 May 2011 to change its name.

than that of heritage Buddhists – although many of the groups listed are small, meet infrequently or are merely local contact addresses for larger inter-regional networks. The University of Derby Multi-faith database, by comparison, listed 550 entries for Buddhism throughout the country (Weller, 2007) – more than *The Buddhist Directory* because it includes entries from Soka Gakkai International of the UK (SGI-UK).

Additionally, on the subject of *degree* of Buddhist affiliation, previous descriptions of Buddhists in Britain have gone as far as to list seven categories of 'convert' Buddhists: those converted through reading, ex-colonials, scholars, esotericists, Asians (presumably those who became interested in Buddhism *after* arriving in the West), sentimental universalists and the curious (Cousins, 1994, 143-4). To these categories Venerable Phramaha Laow Panyasiri Pracharart added 'British people who feel there is something missing from their lives' (2004, 2).

Converting to Buddhism

For a British person brought up in a 'broadly Christian' heritage to become a convert to Buddhism might at first sight seem quite a dramatic life change. Gration's conception of conversion from one major religion to another (i.e. tradition type transitions) would lead us to expect the experience to be painful and susceptible to syncretism (1983, 22). Conversion to a new religion or cult is generally motivated by simultaneous encounter with four events: the tension of religious seeking, encountering a religious movement at a turning point in life, forming an affective

bond with that movement while relinquishing attachments outside of it, and; exposure to intensive interaction with that movement (Stark & Lofland, 1965). The process of conversion may be driven by identification with a powerful leader, incorporating aspects of that leader into one's own personality and shedding one's previous negative emotions to others (Rambo, 1982) – or a ten-stage process starting with suffering and continuing with awareness of religious responses and religious initiation (Downton, 1980). A convert may be subject to dramatic relearning of the roles required of them (Balch, 1980) and a reconstruction of worldview (Snow & Machalek, 1983). The conversion may take place suddenly (in less than a few months), gradually (taking place in more than a few months) or unconsciously (passively acquired by parental nurture)(Scobie, 1975) – the speed of conversion often corresponding with how dogmatic a convert became about their chosen religion (Silverstein, 1988).

Considering conversion to Buddhism, even for the Nichiren Shoshu movement, which Layman (1976) considered an 'evangelical' denomination of Buddhism, studies of conversion of Japanese Americans to have shown many of the findings on conversion to Christianity failed to be replicated for Buddhism (Snow & Phillips, 1980). Gordon-Finlayson (2012) has proposed an alternative five-stage sequence of conversion to Buddhism exhibited by Buddhists in England which includes: (re)kindling of the participants' interests as seekers, a recognition, resolution or review stage as they come into contact with their Buddhist tradition, the embedding into the community by rites of passage, Buddhist routines and practices. According to Gordon-Finlayson, the process is catalyzed by contextual elements including the

reconstruction of narratives from the point of contact with the Buddhist tradition, the development of a rhetorical membership and specific Buddhist identity claims. Furthermore, in the eyes of some Buddhists, conversion as a 'change of beliefs' may not be a concept applicable to Buddhism at all, since some Buddhists claim release can be attained only by transcending *all* (dogmatic) beliefs (Sumedho, 1983). Puttick has characterized British Buddhists as 'active seekers' – a minority of whom may have been stimulated to search further after failing to find mystical elements[10] in Christianity (1992, 6) – but many more of whom have grown up with no Christian background (Bluck, 2006, 190). Convert Buddhists usually come to Buddhism via meditation practice – where after experiencing benefits may become more motivated to make a deeper exploration of the ethical, devotional or ritual practices of Buddhism (Harvey, 1987, 144-145). According to the scheme of Leon Salzman (1966, 12), conversion in Buddhism might be construed as a kind of 'Aha!' experience, since contrary to sorts of conversion which involve being pressurized, it seems to be associated with a lower level of anxiety permitting a greater sense of maturity. Since the two studies[11] that have dealt specifically with Buddhist conversion have shown there is often neither an 'advocate encounter' nor a 'proselytising agent' since converts to Buddhism[12] tend to be an active agent in their own conversion. Preston (1982) interviewed 50 members of a Buddhist Zen community in Southern California and observed from their practice that mere *participation* in communal practice could

[10] Although it is not clear whether he meant the experiential or interpretation aspect of mysticism.
[11] Sociologists of religion have also conceptualized passive elements in the conversion process (Straus, 1979).
[12] With the possible exception of the newer practices in the Tibetan Buddhism of France (Obadia, 2001). Ambedkhar Buddhists actively recruited in India from the untouchable castes to convert *en masse*.

give rise implicitly to 'witness consciousness' (i.e. a state of conversion-commitment). Henry's (2001) interviews with 10 new British converts to Buddhism in the Thai Theravâda, New Kadampa Tradition, the TBC, Serene Reflection Meditation Group and Samatha Trust found that in all but one case (who was inspired by a recent visit to India), the respondents' quest for alternative spirituality was catalyzed by instabilities in life events. Lamb and Bryant (1999, 85) have noted that Buddhist conversion was rarely dramatic [with the exception of some practices described in the Soka Gakkai movement (Harvey, 1990, 286)] and involved a low threshold over which the Buddhist convert must step. Nonetheless, there *is* a change – at least of self-ascribed religious affiliation. In conclusion, the experience of conversion to Buddhism would appear to be gentler than the equivalent experience for other religions and it cannot be assumed that the previous psychology of religion literature concerning this topic can necessarily be extrapolated to Buddhism as it does not seem to involve the same processes.

Studies and Comparisons of UK Convert Buddhist Denominations

Table 2.1 summarizes the academic studies and comparison of UK convert Buddhist denominations. There have been three studies that have tried to present an overview of the breadth of convert practice in Britain – those of Waterhouse (1997), Bluck (2006) and Pracharart (2004) – and a fourth by Henry (2008) which has presented an overview of 'engaged' Buddhism (*which has been given its own 'Assimilation' section below*). The usual way to describe the practice of Buddhism in Britain is to

Table 2.1: Summary of previous studies of 'convert' UK Buddhist organizations

	Buddhist Society	Forest Sangha	TBC	House of Inner Tranquility	Karma Kagyu	New Kadampa Tradition	Samatha Trust	Serene Reflection Meditation	SGI-UK	Other
Overviews										
Waterhouse (1997)				✔		✔			✔	5
Pracharart (2004)			✔	✔			✔			3
Bluck (2006)		✔	✔		✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	
Henry (2008)			✔							4
Comparisons										
Kay (2004)						✔		✔		
Studies of Single Communities										
Benedict (1954)	✔									
Goswell (1988)		✔								
Mellor (1991)			✔							
Wilson & Dobbelaere (1994)									✔	
Waterhouse (1995)										1
Bell (1997)		✔								

focus on one or more of the major traditions of Buddhism, starting with the three largest organizations practised by Buddhist 'converts' in the country – according to Bell (2000, 398): the TBC, the New Kadampa Tradition (NKT) and SGI-UK. While drawing upon the available studies, I have concentrated on what these studies have revealed about motivation and styles of religiosity rather than following the main thrust of those studies which is generally demographic, in order to reveal underlying processes of mind.

In a survey of Buddhism in Bath through interviews with 53 practising British Buddhists from different groups in the region of Bath which included SGI-UK, the House of Inner Tranquility, Karma Paksi, a Thai Theravâda group and the Bath Buddhist Group, Waterhouse (1997) considered each group with reference to their symbols, doctrines, practices, experience, ethics, gender, adaptation and authority. She concluded that the diversity of Buddhist roots, even within a narrow conurbation

was wide and the range of accepted authority that legitimized the adaptations the groups had made to life in the UK impeded the possibility for British Buddhism to be represented by a single group or person (Waterhouse, 1997, 240).

Pracharart's (2004) study of convert involvement with 'indigenous' British schools of Buddhism with Theravâda roots gives some idea of the profile of 'convert' Buddhists as a British category. His convenience sample of 189 British 'converts' were all practitioners of Theravâda Buddhism. That they *were* converts is confirmed by his statistic that less than 5% were brought up Buddhist (Pracharart, 2004, 261). He fielded a 21-question survey mainly in six communities – the Samatha Trust, the House of Inner Tranquility, the TBC, Wat Buddhapadipa, the London Buddhist Vihara and Birmingham Buddhist Vihara – probing their spiritual practice and personal circumstances. He found that 98% of them meditated, 60% practised chanting, 64% studied Buddhism, but only 6% through the language of Pali.[13] The majority of his sample were middle-aged, middle-class, highly-educated, often unattached (unmarried), in professional employment and had started to meditate in their early thirties. The majority had been attracted to Buddhism by reading (45%), and proportionately fewer by their friends (26%), with women more likely to be influenced by friends and men more likely to be influenced by books. Four-fifths reported having benefitted personally from conversion to Buddhism and two-thirds (66%) reported that those closest to them also approved of their choice. Little over half of the respondents (52%) were vegetarian by choice – and most had become

[13]The scriptural language of Theravâda Buddhism

vegetarian *before* becoming Buddhist. Recurring themes in the surveys were the practicality of meditation for everyday life, the role of Buddhist practice in reducing personal suffering and giving purpose to life, a positive outlook toward the monastic Sangha[14] and inspiration to live ethically.

Robert Bluck's (2006) overview of the major British convert Buddhist movements included descriptions of the Forest Sangha, Serene Reflection Meditation, the NKT, the Samatha Trust, SGI-UK, Karma Kagyu and the TBC. Unfortunately, despite being entitled 'British Buddhism' the scope of his research failed to acknowledge or provide a contrast with the communities of heritage Buddhists in Britain. Agreeing with Batchelor's previous observations about western Buddhists (1994, xiii), Bluck concluded that British converts to Buddhism tended to romanticize about Nirvana, treated Buddhism as an academic discipline and ignored elements they saw as alien features of Asian culture. He added that British converts tended to be middle-class, well-educated and that all seven organizations he observed seemed to be structured in a way where members could gradually increase their commitment (Bluck, 2006, 190). He concluded that the convert Buddhist organizations had a 'family resemblance' which included factors like traditional silent meditation, largely traditional devotional activities, traditional teachings, some emphasis on textual study, programmes of retreats and courses, ancient and contemporary narratives,

[14]Strictly, the community of Buddhist monks, but more generally in 'convert' Buddhist parlance, the sense of Buddhist community

a common ethical code for all members, an important teacher-pupil relationship, mostly Western teachers and increased lay participation (Bluck, 2006, 192). Buddhism in Britain has been characterized as extremely diverse and prone to sectarianism, without necessarily exhibiting the bigotry of excessive attachment to a particular denomination (Bell, 2000, 389-399), but with fuzzier edges between the denominations and some degree of borrowing of teachings and practices from one to another (Bluck, 2006, 191).

Vignette Studies and Comparisons

The remainder of the studies have examined single Buddhist communities or compared between two communities – and below I summarize, where available, what the studies have told us about the major Buddhist organizations.[15]

The Buddhist Society

The Buddhist Society which is the oldest Buddhist organization in the UK, has no residential community, but maintains a single meeting place in Westminster. It is not since 1954, that the Buddhist Society has been considered an object of academic enquiry, when a survey of Buddhist organizations in London considered the origins of the Buddhist Society (and the TBC) – at that time concluding that Buddhists in Britain numbered only 315 and were 90% westerners (Benedict, 1954, 318, 323).

[15] I am aware that there exist large communities such as Diamond Way Buddhism which have not yet been subject to studies – and some of the larger *organizations* are mentioned below for their contribution to engaged Buddhism in the UK.

The Forest Sangha

The Forest Sangha has expanded as a tradition modelled on the Thai Forest tradition, growing from a handful of monks to a substantial monastic community of four monasteries supported by 32 affiliated groups in the present day (– a history described in Miller, 1992, 32ff.). While outwardly seeming conservative in its practice, it has adapted to life in the UK in such matters as warmer monastic clothing, chanting in English as well as Pali, simpler etiquette relating to laypeople and creation of an order of nuns (Bluck, 2006, 47). Monastic lifestyle at three of the communities has also been shown beneficial in terms of holistic psychology (Goswell, 1988).

Triratna Buddhist Community (TBC)

The TBC with 78 groups and centres listed in the UK, has been described as self-consciously westernized (Bluck, 2006, 177) since it rejects any Asian authority and has established a system of lay ordination unsanctioned by any traditional lineage (Pracharart, 2004, 223). The movement has been observed to 'translate' Buddhism to the West rather than 'transferring' it – because the process has been selective, and the transferred elements emerge as Buddhism refracted through the lens of the receiving culture. Mellor dubbed the translation process as a 'Protestantisation' of Buddhism[16] in contrast to the 'heritage' approach to Buddhism which has been more authoritarian, institutionalized and dogmatic – being compared to Catholicism (1991, 73, 77). The movement has also been described as a syncretistic movement

[16] Not to be confused with the pews, hymns and Sunday services adopted by the Buddhist Churches of America in response to xenophobic persecution, also described as 'Protestantization' (Hickey, 2010, 9-10).

since it supports itself primarily from Right Livelihood businesses rather than donations (Baumann, 2000). The history of the development of the TBC since 1968 is described by Subhuti (1983, 30). Also Mark Jones (2010) evaluated the extent to which the TBC promotes its own style of Buddhism to children visiting its centres on school trips.

The House of Inner Tranquillity

The House of Inner Tranquillity (HoIT) is a community centred on two main monasteries and a retreat centre. Although modelled on the Thai Theravâda tradition experienced by its founders, it has reduced its practice to meditation and the Four Noble Truths (1997, 72-88). The HoIT makes a conscious effort to reject what it considers as Asian cultural accretions of Buddhism such as bowing, chanting, sitting cross-legged on the floor to meditate, monastic robes or limitation of monastic meal times – but chooses to maintain generosity [*dâna*], respect for the teacher, loving kindness and insight meditation (Mann, 1996, 12-13), and like the TBC, no longer stakes a claim to Asian authority – having decided to establish a system of lay ordination unsanctioned by any traditional lineage (Pracharart, 2004, 223).

The Karma Kagyu tradition

The Karma Kagyu tradition with 50 groups and centres in the UK draws on traditional elements of the Tibetan Karma Kagyu lineage with a (possibly) more individualized and flexible approach to ethical behaviour except for insisting on vegetarianism (Bluck, 2006, 127).[17]

[17] A practice not emphasized in Tibet.

The New Kadampa Tradition (NKT)

The NKT is a movement which has expanded rapidly to 183 groups in Britain and is based on what founder Geshe Kelsang Gyatso claims is an essential Tibetan Buddhism (Bluck, 2006, 150). Kay (1997; 2004) has criticised this essentialism as simplistic, idealistic and uninformed, observing that that this outlook has exerted a normative influence on the development of the NKT in the West.

The Samatha Trust

The Samatha Trust has a tradition modelled on Asian Theravâda Buddhism with structured meditation, Pali chanting, orthodox Theravâda teaching and personal guidance from lay meditation teachers. It has no central residential community, but has 31 groups throughout Britain (Bluck, 2006, 64). Although the Samatha community is rooted in Thai Theravâda tradition, it is unquestionably a lay movement, and does not, like the House of Inner Tranquility or the TBC, blur the distinction between lay and monastic status (Pracharart, 2004, 224).

Serene Reflection Meditation (SRM)

SRM is a community that mixes traditional Soto Zen with adapted elements such as theistic language and insistence on lay meditation and the tradition has since 1982 expanded into a substantial network of four monastic centres with 28 affiliated groups (Bluck, 2006, 87-88). David Kay (2004) has documented the community's history, development and adaptation, comparing it with that of the New Kadampa Tradition.

Soka-Gakkai International of the United Kingdom

SGI-UK is a tradition with strong Japanese Nichiren influence and a reputation for aggressive proselytizing with practice centred on chanting (Bluck, 2006, 108). The community has a significant following in the UK (Waterhouse, 1997, 91ff.; Wilson & Dobbelaere, 1994) – in the year 2000 having an estimated 7,000 members in 300 groups (Wilson, 2000, 373). SGI-UK's evangelical style does not fit with the usual expectations of either convert or heritage Buddhist style of practice – but at the same time is too large a Buddhist movement to be considered an anomaly (Gregory, 2001, 246). The American branch of the movement has sometimes been allocated to the category of a 'new movement' as opposed to a transplant movement since in 1991 the chapters outside Japan were excommunicated from the established Nichiren Shoshu movement, rendering it an exclusively lay movement (Allwright, 1998, 109; Hickey, 2010, 17). Unlike many of the convert movements, SGI-UK provides nurture for children and teenagers from members' families – youth groups being organized at the major centres in Britain and the *Taneesha* book series (e.g. Perry, 2008) providing dedicated reading matter for younger members. Two of the communities Bluck describes, the NKT and SGI-UK exhibited competitive tensions concerning new members (Waterhouse, 1997, 94). Exceptionally for 'convert' Buddhist traditions in Britain, and of direct interest to this dissertation, the TBC, NKT (Waterhouse 1997, 138) and SGI-UK were at the time of writing attracting converts to Buddhism from as young as 16 years old.

Wider Issues

Assimilation of Buddhism into the British (civic) infrastructure

The engagement of Buddhism with social issues, is sometimes seen as a reaction to the convert over-emphasis on meditation and personal spirituality (Bell, 2000, 400). As such it seems to represent an element of Buddhist religiosity and therefore deserves our examination here. Certainly Buddhists feel a need to *justify* concern with worldly matters in a way that doesn't seem necessary for other religions – but when called upon to do so declare that Buddhist teachings, like liberation theology, can be interpreted in terms of their application to political and social ethics and theory (King 1996). Ironically, it is in terms of Buddhism's engagement with society (rather than its other-worldliness) that its degree of assimilation is usually measured – there being three major areas in which Buddhism participates in British public life: chaplaincy, healthcare and education. Philip Henry has compared the socially engaged work of five organizations in the UK which include the TBC (*described above*), the Amida Trust, the Network of Engaged Buddhists, the Community of Interbeing and the Rokpa Trust which are all characterised by their democracy, pragmatism and engagement with social and ethical issues (Henry, 2008, 370).

Buddhists in Britain are involved in the provision of chaplaincy in health, education and prisons. Venerable Khemadhammo and his organization 'Angulimala' have, since 1985, undertaken to provide Buddhist prison chaplains wherever in Britain these are required, training new chaplains at a rate of four workshops per year (Bell, 2000, 400). Buddhist chaplains in Further Education (FE) are part of the All

Faiths and None (AFAN) initiative. In the early 2000s half of England's 400 FE colleges had chaplaincies – but only 40 of these were multi-faith (CofE, 2005, 4). For healthcare chaplaincy, an initiative has been taken by the Buddhist Society since 2008 to set up a single accreditation process by which those of the Buddhist faith may become volunteer chaplains to the National Health Service.

Thanissaro (2011b, 62) has described the circuitous process by which Buddhism has been included as one of the main six religions to be studied in the state-funded Religious Education of England and Wales. Options for Buddhism in RE examinations are offered by three out of four GCSE examination boards and by all four boards at GCE Advanced level (Backus & Cush, 2008, 241). Outside the mainstream school system a Buddhist independent primary school for 3-11 year olds, called the 'Dharma School' which was established in Brighton in 1994 – however, the school plays down its emphasis on Buddhism as an organized religion, merely *accenting* Buddhist-led spiritual values of mindfulness, wisdom and compassion, since most of the children attending are not themselves religious, but see the value of alternative spiritual values (Erricker, 2005, 240). In fact the school has no experience of admitting children with English as a Second Language needs (i.e. foreign-born heritage Buddhists)(Dharma School, 2010, 1). Also well-known for its contributions to Buddhist education in the UK is the Sharpham College for Buddhist Studies and Contemporary Enquiry in Devon which has since 1998 offered non-accredited adult and young people's courses and activities incorporating Buddhism and nature (Bell, 2000, 413). Agon Shu and the Sutasoma Trust have

also awarded grants for Buddhist doctoral study at the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London. Buddho Dendo Kyokai and the Numata Foundation have endowed chairs of Buddhist Studies at the University of Oxford. The Buddhist Society also offers occasional Raymond M. Percheron scholarships for Buddhist research.

In terms of healthcare, the Lothlorien community set up by Akong Rimpoche of the Samye Ling Tibetan Buddhist Centre gives support for those experiencing mental health problems – receiving funding from both the Scottish Office and from Dumfries and Galloway Regional Council (Bell, 2000, 410). Many psychotherapists have drawn heavily on Buddhist psychological theory (Bowbrow, 2010; Brazier, 1995; Davidson & Harrington, 2002; de Silva, 2005; Fromm, Suzuki & de Martino, 1960; Kennedy, 2006) and in Britain therapists have been able to follow a four-year course of Buddhist-led psychotherapy known as 'Core Process Psychotherapy' at the Karuna Institute in Devon. Guy Claxton (1986) has recommended meditation as part of a therapist's training – since in psychotherapy parallels have been drawn between the open attention of a psychotherapist listening to their patient and the bare unjudging attention used in Buddhist meditation (Epstein, 1995, 109ff.). Mindfulness training, originally informed by Buddhism (Kabat-Zinn, 1990, 12) has been incorporated as complementary therapies available through the National Health Service (NHS) – with Mindfulness-Based Stress Reduction (MBSR) to treat stress (Teasdale, Segal & Williams, 1995), Mindfulness-Based Cognitive Therapy (MBCT) to treat depression (Segal, Williams & Teasdale, 2002; Sherlock, 2007) and

insomnia (Heidenreich et al., 2006), palliative care, coping behaviour (Kinsey, 1986) behaviour modification through Dialectical Behaviour Therapy (DBT)(Hayes, 2004; Linehan, 1999) and Acceptance and Commitment Therapy (ACT)(Hayes, Strosahl & Wilson, 1999). Buddhism has also contributed alternatives to the neuroscience paradigm in the fields of transpersonal psychology and cognitive science (Mikulas, 2007, 22).

Trends for the future

That Buddhist converts have teenage families is a fact often greeted with surprise (Morgan, 1989a; b). Whether Buddhist families are able to retain their children in the faith is another matter, since a recent survey by The Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life in the US has shown that Buddhists have the lowest rate of retention for children growing up in their tradition compared with those of other religious affiliations. Only half of Buddhist children remain in the religion they have been raised with, as compared to 84% for Hindus (Useem, 2008). Similar data from Scotland showed that almost a third of children raised Buddhist lost their religion (Voas, 2006, 110)[18] in spite of the fact that the attitude towards Buddhism in the upcoming younger generation in Britain is more positive than toward some other religions (Thanissaro, 2011a, 800). The loss of Buddhist affiliates is thought to apply mainly to convert Buddhists but has led to fear that American Buddhism is dying (Strand, 2007). What seems probable, however is that in the long term (i.e. after the

[18] Although the numbers lost were almost entirely recouped by influx of new converts.

first-generation of migration) the distinction between heritage and convert styles of Buddhist religiosity will dissolve.

Conclusion

This chapter has given an overview of the convert style of Buddhist religiosity in Britain. It has described what is meant by Buddhist affiliation, both in terms of degree and denomination. It has described the process of conversion to Buddhism and given an overview of the previous studies of convert Buddhism in the UK. Finally the authority, representation and assimilation of Buddhism in Britain have been described with an indication of the limitations of some previous conceptualizations in describing the dynamics of change experienced by Buddhism coming to a new country. Whether the Buddhism that has become 'convert' Buddhism in Britain is more or less authentic or mature than the 'heritage' Buddhism of the following chapter, is not for this dissertation to decide – but given that for a second generation of heritage Buddhists, the way converts understand Buddhism might become increasingly plausible to assimilated heritage Buddhists, this chapter lends context to a possible direction the religious values of young Buddhists in the second generation might take, with the content of the next chapter representing the style of Buddhist religiosity that might approximate more closely to that of their parents.

Chapter 3

The Heritage style of Buddhist Religiosity in Britain

Temple Sunday school organizer -

"The only reason Buddhist teenagers are likely to come to the temple is if we organize cultural activities that involve make-up and singing..."

Srilankan Buddhist temple, London

Chapter Overview

The previous chapter examined convert Buddhist religiosity and suggested that this might be the style of religiosity a second generation of migrant Buddhists might be moving towards under the influence of a mainstream British culture. However, in understanding the Buddhist religiosity perpetuated by the first generation of migrants, it is necessary to examine the heritage-style of Buddhist religiosity which might more closely reflect the religiosity of the parental generation.

This chapter describes what previous studies have told us of the sociology of migrant communities with some historical context to the heritage Buddhist communities in Britain including Chinese, Sinhalese, Japanese, Vietnamese, Thai, Malaysian, Burmese, Korean, Bengali, Taiwanese, Indian and Nepalese. General characteristics of heritage Buddhists and their temples are described and also features of their assimilation into mainstream British society.

This chapter makes several significant contributions to knowledge – it presents an *overview* of heritage-Buddhist religiosity in Britain that has never before been attempted – but which in the early years of the 21st century, by sheer numbers of heritage Buddhists has become a significant issue. It makes a pioneering attempt to estimate the number of heritage Buddhists in Britain. It also presents a thesis, not previously considered, that in the process of segmented assimilation, religion may form a 'segment' related to 'ethnic assertiveness' that leads to differential absorption into an established mainstream culture. Finally, it extends the concept of perpetuating

structures or plausibility structures to the temple-based activities of young Buddhists in Britain in a new way.

Given the chronology described in the previous chapter of White scholarly interest in scriptural Buddhism in Britain preceding familiarity with Buddhism as *practised* in Asia, when more people started to migrate from the Asian countries, Buddhism additionally became known in Britain as *a way of life* led by those coming from predominantly Buddhist countries.

In the 2001 UK Census, three-fifths (Bluck, 2008, 2) or more[1] of the self-identified British Buddhists were non-white,[2] and in the 2011 census three-fifths of Buddhists had been born outside the UK.[3] For the purposes of this dissertation it is important to note that the majority of teenagers professing Buddhism in the UK belong to the 'heritage' religious style category – since, as noted in the previous chapter – convert Buddhists often do not choose to marry (*viz.* have families of their own), and if they do, tend not to bring up their children formally as Buddhists.

In contrast to studies of Buddhism in America, previous study of Buddhism in Britain has dwelled so heavily on *convert* Buddhist religiosity [i.e. 'British Buddhism' being expressly more important than 'Buddhism in Britain' (e.g. Connolly, 1985, 22)] that the casual reader might be forgiven for dismissing the contribution made by immigrants to Buddhism in Britain. In North America (perhaps because unlike Europe, Buddhist scholarship came in the wake of Buddhist heritage communities)

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[1] Baumann (1997, 198) estimated the proportion of Asian Buddhists in Britain to be 72% of the total, with 50,000 Caucasian Buddhists and 130,000 Asians in the mid-1990s.
[2] Voas's (2006) figures from the 2001 Scottish Census, however show White Buddhists to be slightly over 50% of the total population.
[3] ONS report dcp171776_310454.pdf

it has been *de rigueur* to describe dual or multiple layers of ethnicity in Buddhist congregations placing equal emphasis on convert and heritage Buddhist communities whether it be in the United States (Numrich, 1996) or Canada (McLellan, 1999). American social studies have even acknowledged the importance of bilingualism (e.g. Zentella, 1997) – and any insinuation of the primacy of 'convert' Buddhism has been denounced as racist (Hickey, 2010). By contrast, UK studies of heritage Asian communities, have concerned themselves more with *religion* than ethnicity – sociological analysis of Asian communities in the US, with a few exceptions (e.g. Huynh, 2000; Zhou & Bankston, 1998), having omitted the possible role of religion from the study of the identity-formation in heritage Asian communities (e.g. Kibria, 2002; Lee & Zhou, 2004). If the ethnic sensitivity of the American studies can be combined with the interreligious conceptualization of identity found in British research – it will help build a nuanced understanding of teenage Buddhist identity that can usefully inform this study.

Some Key Terms

Ethnicity is the sense of belonging to a particular racial or cultural group. It is a personal quality derived from ancestry and has been defined as a feeling of continuity with the past that is maintained as an essential part of one's self-definition (Eriksen, 2002, 9).

'Cultural assimilation' refers to the process by which an emergent culture may be subjugated by an established culture to the degree that it loses its identifying features. Classical 'linear' ideas of the 'cultural melting-pot' would predict the eventual disappearance of minority cultures. 'Segmented assimilation' is an attempt to explain why in practice, there are differing degrees to which cultures melt 'in the pot' indicating the presence, perhaps, of 'cultural niches' which may live on as part of a repertoire of multicultural competencies (Arweck & Nesbitt, 2010) or part of a hybrid youth culture (Modood et al., 1997, 77).

Communities may have means of transmitting their beliefs and values from one generation to the next. Where the means incorporate some sort of institution, they are often referred to as 'perpetuating structures'. Perpetuating structures may include temples, temple schools and denominational schools. Where the same process relies on transmission of certain truths and incorporate specific truths that may no longer be self-evident against the backdrop of contradictory dominant culture, the means may be referred to, as in the writing of Gary Bouma (2006), as 'plausibility structures'. The beauty of this second term is that it can identify the process of transmission, even where it is not formally institutionalized, as in the case of a mother inducting her children in Buddhist ways in the home, perhaps through the use of home shrines or bowing to parents.

'Social capital' refers to features of social organization such as trust, norms and networks that can make society more efficient through facilitating coordinated actions (Putnam, 1993, 167).

'Ethnic assertiveness' is the tenacity of ethnic identity (although the concept might also apply to cultural or religious identity) in resisting assimilation by mainstream culture with which it comes in contact. Resistance sometimes happens intentionally as a 'cultural backlash' , 'border demarcation' in the Barthian sense or most correctly cultural 'cleavage'– a community's concerted attempt to preserve its identity – and is particularly conspicuous where a people preserve ethnic and national traditions even across religious boundaries (examples of this are given in Thanissaro, 2010a, 298) highlighting identity retention as a 'diachronic process' by which a community expresses the need for continuity of self and tradition in the global 'melting pot' where boundaries are made fuzzier by increased cross-cultural communication (Smith, 1996, 311).

Lastly, there is sometimes some doubt as to what exactly constitutes a 'temple' – since in Hinduism, some *house* meetings in Britain have been better attended than temple meetings – however, the definition in Buddhism should be simpler since a 'temple' can be defined as an establishment where there is a monk in residence. Buddhist buildings where no monk is present would be referred to as a 'shrine'.

General Features of Migrants

Provenance and motivation

People have the right to leave any country including their own (United Nations, 1948, Article 13[2]), within the limits of national security, peace and public order, public health or morals and the rights and freedoms of others (United Nations, 1996, Article 12). The International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates the worldwide figure for immigration to have reached 70 million of which only a small proportion are undocumented (IOM, 1994). With the deterritorialisation of the global economy, money and products can cross borders with greater ease – and the movement of labour forces, the other major factor in production, is a natural consequence of this globalization – often with the net flow being from South to North (Skrobanek, Boonpakdi & Janthakeero, 1997, 13). There are different theories about what motivates people to migrate – individual motivation, group motivation and the forces of economic disparity. On an individual level, a decision to migrate, rarely taken lightly, usually arises when individuals or families see no way of improving their lives other than leaving their home country. They must also have confidence in their ability to deal with uncertainties and consequences of migration (Sripraphai & Sripraphai, 1984) – however, it is often not hardship *per se* that motivates individuals to emigrate since there is evidence to suggest that those who migrate are more highly educated and ambitious than those who stay (Feliciano, 2006, 35). On a group level it becomes easier for individuals to emigrate, even those

of lower levels of education or ambition, if they are part of a network of compatriots some of whom are already resident in the receiving country. If such networks exist, as have been demonstrated for Koreans emigrating to the UK (Kim, 2006), education and ambition factors in migration may become less important (as noted for Mexican migrants to the US by Feliciano, 2006, 60). On the level of economic disparity migrants may be beckoned by media imagery of luxury and affluence, often to perform the work native people find demeaning or dirty (Massey et al., 1993, 441) since salaried work in the West has become connected with status. When western employers cannot raise the wage of low-status jobs even when no local people can be found to do them, the vacancies have been filled by international migrants who, instead of considering status, judge jobs in comparison with the wage the same job would earn in their home country. Concerning the economic motivation to migrate, it should also be noted that sending money back to a country of provenance (*viz.* remittances) is also a regular part of heritage life (Skrobanek, Boonpakdi & Janthakeero, 1997, 100).

Sense of Identity

It is pertinent to mention some generalized aspects of the migrant Buddhist communities under study, because of what has been referred to as 'pan-Asian identity' which seems to have developed in the Asian-American second generation – not as a result of ancestral provenance (which differs from one community to

another) but because Asians are *perceived* to belong to the same group by members of the mainstream culture. In the UK, ethnic Census categories distinguish between Chinese, Asian-Indian, Asian-Pakistani, Asian-Bangladeshi and Asian-Other – nonetheless there is a sense of solidarity which has developed within the 'Asian' group who are neither black nor white in their ethnicity. It is within this projected stereotype, that the idea of Asians as a 'model minority' has developed (Zhou & Lee, 2004, 14).

If previous studies of South Asian migration to the UK can be extrapolated to the heritage Buddhist population, it is likely that it may be very hard to generalize between communities that are so diverse in their characteristics. Heritage Buddhists might be Asians in some respects but not in others – yielding a complexity of identity that reminds researchers that group categories are dialectically (rather than absolutely) defined, and that ethnic identity is contingent rather than categorical (Clarke, Peach & Vertovec, 1990, 170).

In as far as generalizations can be made, the Buddhist migration into England has been marked by a relatively high level of assimilation showing adoption of English as a first language, independence from temples or enclaves and relative freedom of intermarriage, which are three of the four indicators of assimilation proposed by Waters and Jiménez (2005) and showing that heritage Buddhism in Britain would correspond to a model of 'loose congregationalism'. Nonetheless, the degree of adaptation varies from communities of one national origin to another, in possible proportion to degree of collectivism or ethnic assertiveness and leading

scholars to conceive the process as one of 'segmented assimilation' rather than being the linear process originally conceptualized (Gordon, 1964) – especially as exhibited in the second generation (Zhou, 2001) where 'segments' may include not just nationality but also the religious traditions they follow, as identified by the multilayer conceptualization of religion used by Jackson (1997, 65) as it might relate to social capital on the level of individual, group and tradition.

Features of Heritage Buddhism in Britain

Previous Studies

As mentioned in the chapter overview, there is no academic precedent for describing the heritage Buddhist community of the UK in overview *or* comparison. Where the heritage Buddhist communities *have* been studied, it has been by what Ratcliff (1987) has termed a 'shotgun' account of uncoordinated studies mostly in fulfilment of higher degrees.

Joyce Miller (1992) made a case study of a Thai Buddhist temple in Warwickshire. She was a participant observer at the temple, studying the available literature for and by the Buddhist community and conducted semi-structured interviews with 15 western and Thai Buddhists attending the temple. The study yielded ground-breaking information about heritage Buddhist parenting style in that community. Informal nurture of second-generation Buddhist children was observed to include generosity, chanting and meditation, listening to Dhamma sermons at the temple,

bowing to the Sangha, taking temporary ordination as a novice monk, showing respect toward parents and the presence of Buddhist iconography on shrines in the home (Miller, 1992, 199). It was posited that the more diluted the Buddhist influences available at home, the more support the parents required from the Sangha (Miller, 1992, 188, 193). Parents characterized themselves as Buddhists bringing up children rather than bringing up children to be Buddhists, often nurturing their children without using any specifically religious vocabulary and encouraging them to be aware of other religions (Miller, 1992, 187, 195, 233).

Laura Hodges (2010) interviewed 20 Buddhists from the UK Cambodian community who cited ignorance of Khmer language in the upcoming generation and insufficient free time as the main obstacles to perpetuation of their cultural identity in Britain. In the United States, where the Cambodian community was much larger, the blessings, teaching, counselling and ceremonial marking of rites of passage such as birth, marriage and death provided by Buddhist temples were seen as crucial to overcoming these obstacles (Das, 2007, 103; Men, 2002). In Britain though, where the much smaller numbers did not allow for the establishment of a specifically Cambodian temple, some respondents indicated a shift toward a more family-orientated rather than community-orientated culture revealing a capacity for reinterpretation and adaptation of the traditional role of religion within that community. Cambodian children in Britain were reported to enjoy attending

Buddhist temples in Britain when young, but lost their interest in religion by their twenties (Hodges, 2010, 26, 46).

In her participatory observation and non-structured interviews with 22 members of the British Vietnamese community,[4] the majority of whom were Buddhists, Judith Law (1991) made a detailed description of the Linh Son Temple in Catford and its activities. She also found that a home shrine was a common alternative place of Buddhist worship for those living too far from the temple. The dedication of merit for deceased ancestors[5] incorporated into respondents' daily Buddhist activities was said to be extremely important in giving them 'a sense of continuity and identity' (Law, 1991, 48). Strong cohesion within the extended family was also noted as a resource for health, welfare, education and funding. Vietnamese migrant children worked hard in school, embodied the Vietnamese value of a 'love of learning' [*tánh hiếu học*] - a feature of social capital borne out in the disproportionately high education attainments of Vietnamese second-generation children in the US (Feliciano, 2006, 21). The Vietnamese work ethic [*tánh cần cù*] was observed in adults. Apart from these values, Buddhism was also seen to contribute a worldview that was harmony-orientated, pragmatic and slightly fatalistic – apparently ingrained whether religious or not, and although Law regretted not having been able to go into more depth in the role of Buddhism in shaping ethnic identity or on how the religious beliefs and practices had changed since the arrival of the migrants in Britain,

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[4] In addition to 5 others who had worked closely with the Vietnamese community
[5] Incorrectly referred to in this context as 'ancestor worship' which is a Confucian practice

she concurred with many of the observations of Rutledge (1985, 76) for the Vietnamese community in Oklahoma.

Ven. Mahinda Deegalle (2004) made an insider's participant observation of the provenance and practice of his own Sri Lankan temple – the Sri Saddhatissa International Buddhist Centre in London. He observed that Sinhalese Buddhists were motivated to visit the temple because it created a feeling of community and belonging (Deegalle, 2004, 68). Sinhalese Buddhist parents believed that by attending the temple, their children would pick up the Sinhala language skills and customs (the parents) considered more desirable than those they would learn by default in UK society – since Sri Lankan children born in Britain tended to put their British identity first and were (too) eager to adapt to a British way of life (Deegalle, 2004, 69). Denise Cush also interviewed a Sri Lankan family as part of her *Buddhists in Britain Today* project and concluded that in Britain it is not easy to ensure children receive a Buddhist upbringing, but that the temple is a place the children may acquire a Buddhist 'background' (Cush, 1990, 44).

Potential size of the community

Some idea of the true size of the UK heritage Buddhist community can be deduced from the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development database (OECD, 2010), which in turn derives its UK data from the 2001 Census. All figures demonstrated a significant increase over the preceding decade and as explained in the previous chapter, even the Census figures themselves are thought to be an

underestimate.[6] In the calculations that follow, the likely percentage of Buddhists in the population of immigrants is derived from the demographic of the country of origin – and unless there has been religiously selective[7] migration to the UK, it is likely that the Census figures for the number of Buddhists is a vast underestimate.[8]

Sub-Communities by National Origin

A gap in the picture of heritage communities would not be surprising if the numbers involved were negligible – but when disparate data about the Buddhists who have migrated to Britain is gathered together, even a conservative estimate puts the figure for foreign-born Buddhist residents at 414,747 (*see Table 3.1 overleaf)* and the second generation of Buddhists *(see Table 3.2 overleaf*) at 36,144 – together totalling almost half-a-million Buddhists.

Of course the data for second-generation Buddhists is more difficult to ascertain since 'birth country' disappears from the demographic radar once the respondents naturalize to British nationality – being available only in the more established heritage

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[6] Migration statistics quarterly report February 2015 from www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171778_396645.pdf

[7] Where migration was selective in the US, Feliciano (2006) showed only education level to be a factor. Although religious persecution *could* be a reason for particular religions to migrate selectively it is not thought relevant to the UK Buddhist communities discussed in this study few of whom were *forced* to migrate.

[8] Continued immigration in the period 2011-2015 has significantly added to immigrant figures according to the Migration Statistics Quarterly Report of February 2015 at www.ons.gov.uk/ons/dcp171778_396645.pdf. Nonetheless, underestimates may easily occur in the case of migrant communities where foreign-born residents may not understand documents posted to them such as Electoral Roll registration, or even if they do understand them – may, for various reasons, not want to declare their whereabouts, or might simply not care about the outcome. It is bureaucratically impractical to penalize persons who don't appear in the Census record for not filling it in!

Table 3.1: Estimate of Foreign-Born Buddhists in the UK

Birth Country	2001 Census	Estimated Buddhists %	*N*
China PRC	247,402	67.0[9]	165,760
Hong Kong	96,445	90.0	86,800
Sri Lanka	67,938	70.0	47,556
Japan	37,535	84.0	31,529
Vietnam	23,347	90.0	21,012
Singapore	40,474	42.5	17,201
Thailand	16,257	95.0	15,444
Malaysia	49,886	19.2	9,578
Myanmar	9,924	90.0	8,931
South Korea	12,310	22.8	2,807
Taiwan	6,588	35.0	2,306
Bangladesh	283,063	0.7	1,981
India	1,053,411	0.2	1,398
Nepal	5,943	21.0	1,248
Cambodia	706	95.0	671
Laos	464	67.0	311
Mongolia	293	50.0	150
Bhutan	86	75.0	64
Totals			**414,747**

Source: Country of Birth database (OECD, 2010)

Table 3.2: Estimate of Second Generation Buddhists in the UK

Birth Country	2001 Census	Estimated Buddhists %	*N*
China PRC	51,078	67.0	34,222
Bangladesh	154,362	0.7	1,080
India	467,634	0.2	842
Totals			**36,144**

Source: Country of Birth database (OECD, 2010)

communities that keep their own statistics as in the case of Indians and Bengalis or if nationality (roughly) coincides with ethnicity as in the case of the Chinese. The figure may be further confused by a number of nationalities who are allowed to hold dual nationality.

Since temple-going was one of the ways of accessing the experimental sample it is relevant to have an indication of the number of heritage temples established by communities from each country of birth *(Table 3.3 overleaf)*. Figures are collated from various sources including *The Buddhist Directory* (Buddhist Society, 2007),

[9] Modood *et al.* (1997) suggest the figure should be 20%

Table 3.3 UK Heritage Buddhist Temples by country of origin

Country	*No.*
Sri Lanka	17
Thailand	12
Myanmar	8
Vietnam	5
India	4
Taiwan	3
South Korea	1
Nepal	1
China PRC	-
Malaysia	-
Hong Kong	-
Singapore	-
Bangladesh	-
Japan	-
Cambodia	-
Laos	-
Mongolia	-
Bhutan	-
Total	***51***

Source: Buddhist Society, 2007; Weller, 2007.

Religions in the UK Directory (Weller, 2007) and personal knowledge (where those two databases proved incomplete).[10] Perhaps unexpectedly, it can be seen that numbers alone do not predict whether a community will establish its own temple. More predictive is the degree to which the Buddhist identity of a sending country is 'ethnically assertive' (e.g. Dharmadasa, 1992) or feels the (Barthian) need to demarcate boundaries of religious identity.[11] Similar trends for Hindu heritage communities in the UK have caused them to draw upon *convert* Hindu traditions to bolster the Hindu identity (Carey, 1987).

In any case, the number of 'heritage' temples that are to be the venue for this study, given that young people visit them, is potentially 51 establishments. Each of

[10] For example, the author's own temple, established for more than 10 years, was overlooked by both sources.

[11] A more detailed treatment of the dialectic between the factors internal and external to a community in its identity formation will be described in Chapter 4, pp.95-6.

the heritage communities is now examined in turn, in decreasing likely order of size.

The Chinese Community

The Chinese have been evident in the Chinatowns of London, Cardiff and Liverpool for more than 100 years. The numbers of Chinese in Britain grew significantly after 1949 until there were about 60,000 Chinese in the UK by the 1970s. The Chinese were dispersed widely but unobtrusively in Britain and are claimed to have had little sense of cultural solidarity (Winder, 2004, 397). Most of the Chinese came from the People's Republic of China, although the Cantonese immigrants from Hong Kong are also numerous. The Chinese have been characterized as Buddhists who rarely attend a temple (Ng, 1968, 66) – and this feature also applies to immigrants from Singapore, Hong Kong, Malaysia and Taiwan who seem to practise Buddhism exclusively from the home (and would largely fall outside the scope of this study). Nonetheless, three Chinese-led temples have been established in the UK, such as Fo Guang Shan branches in Manchester and London and London Lei Zang Si Temple in Plumstead – although they are affiliated to Buddhist organizations that are Taiwanese. Chinese nationality would strictly include 500[12] of Tibetan ethnicity too, for whom there is no separate official statistic for the UK population.

[12] pers. comm. (2010) with Pempa Lobsang, chairman of the Tibetan Community UK

The Sinhalese Community

After the Chinese, the most numerous in the UK Buddhist community, are those who have migrated from Sri Lanka. As Britain was the first country to establish immigration links with Sri Lanka, in two decades from 1960 to 1980 many Sri Lankans were settled into health- and other white-collar professions. Migration of Sri Lankans to Britain became more common in the 1980s and 1990s owing to displacement by the Sri Lankan Civil War. The 2001 Census recorded 67,938 Sri Lankan-born UK residents, the majority of whom live in London or the Midlands, and by 2007 the figure may have been as high as 170,000. Normally, 70% of this number would be Buddhist, giving an estimated figure of 47,556 who would be Buddhist. The eleven Sri Lankan temples (6 in London and 5 elsewhere in Britain) reported in 2004 (Deegalle, 2004, 56-57), have in the subsequent six years grown to 17: in Letchworth, the Letchworth Buddhist Temple and Letchworth Dhamma Nikethanaya;[13] in the Midlands, the Birmingham Mahavihara, the Jetavana Buddhist Temple and Leicester Buddhist Vihara; in Manchester, the Ketumati Buddhist Vihara; in London, the East London Buddhist Cultural Centre, Sri Lanka Community Centre (SLSCO-FLAME), the Thames Buddhist Vihara, the Sri Saddhatissa International Buddhist Centre (SSIBC)(previously described by Deegalle, 2004), the Redbridge Buddhist Cultural Centre, the Mahamevnawa Bhavana Asapuwa, the London Buddhist Vihara (previously described in Pracharart, 2004, 73-74, 113ff.), the Southgate Buddhist Realists Vihara and the Samadhi

[13] *nikethanaya* means 'institute' rather than 'temple'

Meditation Centre and in Glasgow the 'Scotland's Buddhist Vihara'. Increase in the number of temples may not necessarily reflect increase in the total size of the congregation as Deegalle reminds us it can also represent increased splintering of the existing community served by the temples (2004, 56). The Buddhism introduced by the Sinhalese immigrants might be thought authentic and unblemished in its Indic roots, however as Kitsiri Malalagoda (1976) has observed, many forms of Buddhist 'perpetuating structures' such as temple schools [hereafter *daham pasala*] and overseas missions are strategies in reaction to, or borrowing from, Protestant missionary tactics[14] or the infrastructure of colonization. The Buddhism found in Sri Lankan temples in the UK carries with it the baggage of its historical provenance – and has thus been referred to in some descriptions as 'export' Buddhism (King, 1961, 212; 1964) – although this term ignores the contribution of indigenous Buddhists to its reinvention (Bell, 1991). Adaptation of tradition is an expected consequence of Buddhism's spread since even the most conservative of Buddhist teachers has to modify their message to some extent merely to be understood in the West (Batchelor, 1994, 337). Pracharart describes the second generation of British-born Sinhalese, even those of Christian Sinhala-British parents as identifying with Theravâda Buddhism although he offers no evidence for this (2004, 123). Pracharart states (2004, 126) that the majority (i.e. 80-90%) of Buddhists visiting the London Buddhist Vihara are white 'converts' and that this is an increase as compared to the figures reported thirty years previously (Candamitto, 1972) – however the figures

[14] Deegalle (2004, 64) cites the singing of hymns in honour of the Triple Gem as an example of this practised in the UK Buddhist community.

he cites refer to those attending the structured Dhamma classes held in *English* – and no comparison is provided for the participation of Sinhalese 'immigrant' families who might attend the temple uncounted on an informal basis, to light candles on the temple shrine, bring daily food for the monks, attend ceremonies according to the Buddhist calendar, follow classes at the *daham pasala* or indeed provide the *entire* financial support for the temple (Pracharart, 2004, 126) – a number which is also likely to be substantial. Deegalle, by contrast, states that in general the Sri Lankan temples in Britain serve primarily the Sri Lankan community, although they 'include and embrace' other ethnic groups (2004, 57).

The Japanese Community

Third most numerous amongst the heritage Buddhists in Britain should be the Japanese. Normally 84% of the 37,535 Japanese-born people in the UK should be Buddhist (albeit syncretically affiliated, while blending their Buddhist practice with that of other religions such as Shintoism) – but the active Buddhists may be as few as 30% of the total, since most Japanese people would not consider themselves religious. Although there are many Japanese-derived denominations of Buddhism with centres in the UK [e.g. Zen, Pure Land, Nichiren], they seem to attract principally convert Buddhists [e.g. in the case of SGI-UK (Wilson & Dobbelaere, 1994, 43)] and Buddhist activities are practised from home (e.g. Cush, 1990, 102), if at all. On the subject of Japanese teenagers in Britain, previous literature has described only the features of bilingualism and the role of Japanese Saturday

language schools for this community in the UK (Yamada-Yamamoto & Richards, 1999).

The Vietnamese Community

The present Vietnamese community in Britain of 23,347 was established in the 1970s when the government allowed 10,000 'boat people' to settle under the Orderly Departure Programme (Winder, 2004, 402). The religiosity of UK immigrants from Vietnam is likely to be significant since one major reason for fleeing Vietnam was religious persecution. The Vietnamese were originally dispersed deliberately throughout Britain, but later made a secondary migration to larger centres like London and Birmingham (Robinson, 1989) – about 90% of these were (to some extent) Buddhist (Law, 1991, 26) giving a total Buddhist population of 21,012. There are five Vietnamese Buddhist temples in Britain [discounting the Community of Interbeing network, which although based on the teachings of the Vietnamese monk Ven. Thich Nhat Hanh, attracts principally *convert* members (Bell, 2000, 404; Henry, 2008)]. Vietnamese temples have been established in Birmingham, the Midlands Buddhist Association and in London the Medicine Buddha Foundation (Chua Duoc Su Phat Duong), Linh Sonh Phat Duong Temple, the Linh Son Temple and Meditation Centre, Quan Am Ni Tu Temple and Chua Linh Sonh.

The Thai Community

Thai-born Britains are potentially the seventh most numerous amongst the heritage Buddhists under study. Thailand has actively encouraged emigration since 1977 (Skrobanek, Boonpakdi & Janthakeero, 1997, 7). The Thai influx to Europe has been voluntary and often motivated by economic factors (Plambech, 2010). The 2001 census reported there to be 16,257 Thai-born people who lived in the UK. A particular characteristic of Thai immigration is that 72% of the immigrants are women. In the period 2003-6, 64% of total settlement grants for Thais were for wives and from 2001-6 the majority of Thai nationals naturalized as UK citizens were marriage immigrants (Sims, 2008). Since 95% of the Thai immigrants are likely to be Buddhist, the figure for Thai Buddhists in Britain should be 15,444 – and there are currently 12 Thai Buddhist temples in the UK: in the Midlands, Wat Sanghathan and Wat Buddhavihara (both described in Pracharart, 2004, 7-12), Oxford Buddhist Vihara, The Forest Hermitage (previously described in Miller, 1992); in Manchester Wat Phra Dhammakaya (Manchester) and Wat Phra Sri Rattanaram; in and around London, Wat Buddhapadipa (previously described in Cate, 2002; Pracharart, 2004, 71-73, 130-151.), Wat Buddharam, Wat Phra Dhammakaya (London); in Edinburgh, Wat Dhammapadipa; in Newcastle, Wat Phra Dhammakaya (Newcastle); in Wales, Wat Sanghapadipa and in Kent, Wat Santi Vanaram. Since 'marriage migration' in this national group is common, it should be noted that young people in this community commonly fall into two major categories (which might be borne in mind when examining values): children resulting

from mixed marriages (where both parents live with them) and children brought into a new setting from previous marriages – where the absence of a natural parent may deeply mark the adolescent personality (Skrobanek, Boonpakdi & Janthakeero, 1997, 101).

The Malaysian Community

Although there were 49,886 Malaysian-born immigrants living in Britain of which 19.2% should be Buddhist, there is no 'Malaysian' Buddhist temple to serve the potential congregation of 9,578 – perhaps following the pattern in Malaysia where Buddhists seem to be served by Buddhist missions established by monks from other countries would indicate a low level of ethnic assertiveness.

The Burmese Community

The migration of Burmese people to the UK has roots going back to the Bamar displaced by occupation during World War Two. The community is typically one of professional men who have migrated to Britain *with* their families (Miller, 1992, 148). Nowadays of the 9,924 Myanmar-born people in the UK, 90% would likely be Buddhist, giving a figure of 8,931 for heritage Buddhists born in Myanmar. Indeed, there are presently 8 Burmese Buddhist temples in Britain, namely: in the Midlands, the Birmingham Buddhist Vihara (also described in Pracharart, 2004, 12-13, 151-158); in Manchester, the Saraniya Dhamma Meditation Centre; in London, the London Vihara, the Santisukha Vihara, the Tisarana Vihara, London Burmese Buddha Vihara, Mogok Vipassana Centre and Sasana Ramsi Vihara.

The Bengali[15] *Community*

Following the diaspora in the 1970s caused by the partitioning of Bangladesh, many Bengalis, principally from Sylhet, were granted asylum in the UK as they were squeezed out of their own country settling at first in London's East End (Winder, 2004, 391). A number of the Bengalis fleeing Chittagong were Buddhist. Bengali Buddhists in Britain are a small minority (0.7%) of a immigrant population of nearly 300,000 Bengalis (so numbering almost 2,000 Buddhists) but have established no specifically Bengali temple, instead supporting Theravâda Buddhist temples of other nationals.

The Taiwanese Community

Although the number of Buddhist immigrants from Taiwan is relatively low (probably 2,000) of all the Chinese immigrants, as mentioned above, it has been the Taiwanese who have taken the lead in establishing Chinese-speaking temples in Britain.

The Indian Community

Like the Bengalis, Indian Buddhists are a small proportion (0.18%) of a very large immigrant population in Britain. Indian Buddhists in Britain number 1,398[16] and have three dedicated temples set up by the Ambedkharite Movement namely two London Buddha Viharas in Southall and Plaistow and one other in Wolverhampton.

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[15] A self-ascribed term used in preference to 'Bangladeshi' but strictly inaccurate as Bengalis may also originate from the other side of the Indian border – from Calcutta and locality.
[16] Although Scott (1995) suggested a figure of 45,000.

The Nepalese Community

The Gurkhas of Nepal have a long history of serving in the British Army, and those serving for more than four years have since 2004 had the legal right, with their families, to settle in the UK. Many of the Gurkhas are Buddhist and reside around Sandhurst and Church Crookham in Hampshire and are the reason for the highest concentration of Buddhists (3.3% of the local community) reported in the 2011 Census for Rushmoor Borough in Hampshire. Nepalese who ascribe themselves Buddhist in Britain, often restrict their religious activities to the home (Thanissaro, 2011b, 65) although there exists a Nepalese temple called 'Lumbini Nepalese Buddha Dharma Society' in Slough and Buddhist shrines[17] for Gurkha soldiers in British military camps where Gurkhas are barracked in significant numbers. As already mentioned in chapter 2, a characteristic of Nepalese Buddhists, especially among the Gurung community, is a historical syncretism with Hindu beliefs and values (Watkins, 1996, 145).

Other Buddhist Communities

Finally, for the sake of completeness, according to my enquiries in early 2011, there are four other small communities of heritage Buddhists none of which have dedicated temples of their own. There was a small population of 293 Mongolians in Britain – about half of whom are Buddhist; 86 Bhutanese, three-quarters of whom are Buddhist; about 700 heritage Buddhists from Cambodia, who were known to attend

[17] In this case, the word 'shrine' refers to a temple with no incumbent monk, rather than a home altar.

activities at the temples of the Forest Sangha tradition or Wat Buddhapadipa (Hodges, 2010), and; around 300 Laotian Buddhists.

Aspects of Heritage Buddhist religiosity

Possible Ideal Types

Heritage Buddhism has been brought to the West as the 'cultural baggage' of Asian immigrants providing them with social support and cultural continuity (Nattier, 1995, 42-49). Asian Buddhists have thus been stereotyped by convert Buddhists as comparatively devotional, hierarchical and focussed on social and cultural activities – their concept of Buddhism being one where the individual is more embedded in a network of social relations than would be conceded by convert Buddhists (Imamura, 1998; Smith, 2003) justifying particular attention being paid to collectivist values in their community. Despite an interest in their own communities, heritage Buddhists have been surprisingly unforthcoming in civic engagement or representation in intra-Buddhist affairs – meaning heritage Buddhists are unavoidably underrepresented in matters of UK Buddhist authority. In overview, it is hard to conceive that the difference between styles of Buddhist religiosity described between heritage and convert Buddhists in Chapter 2, can be attributed entirely, as Inglehart and Weltzel (2005) would claim, to lack of social privilege or democratization.

Contextual features of the 'temple' toward religiosity

Since the temple and temple-going are one of the major ways of operationalizing participation in this study, a vignette of temple culture forms necessary background to the religiosity of heritage Buddhists in Britain. The heritage Buddhist temple has several features which may set it apart from convert Buddhist organization's meeting rooms, meditation centres or the 'Right Livelihood' concerns mentioned in the previous chapter. Heritage Buddhist motivation to establish any temple is a response to a perceived need for a place where they will be able to enhance their religious virtues to a greater extent than at home, and because it is a place where monks (as role models for virtue and as a field of merit[18]) can take up residence in strict accordance with the Vinaya.[19] In the UK, and elsewhere outside Asia, British Buddhist temples (with the exception of Wat Buddhapadipa in Wimbledon) are not purpose-built, but have been adapted from existing public buildings or detached houses. Here I draw attention to some characteristic features of heritage Buddhist temples in the UK which may help elucidate the role of temples as perpetuating structures and purveyors of Buddhist ethos (Thanissaro, 2014b) while putting the young Buddhist participants' responses in context – namely: finance, childrens' activities, monastic authority and links with a country of origin.

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[18] In Pali scriptural terminology *puññakhetta*. Monks are believed to be particularly worthy recipients of gifts by the laity.

[19] The Buddhist monastic code of conduct, followed fairly literally in Theravâda tradition, which includes stipulations about sacred space, boundaries etc.

Finance

Temples are not financed by the government,[20] or a central Buddhist body, but through personal fundraising by congregation members. Theravâda Buddhist temples with resident monks rely on the reciprocal system of giving [*dâna*], whereby the community of lay Buddhists provide for the simple material needs of the monks and the community of monastic Buddhists provide for the spiritual guidance of the laity. This is a system which has either broken down or been consciously rejected by convert organizations who rely for income instead on charitable fundraising strategies such as right livelihood enterprise, retail of books or educational services. The reciprocal system is taken for granted by 'heritage' Buddhists but, the outward displays of generosity and its prestige have been observed to offend the egalitarian outlook of the 'convert' Buddhists (Bell, 1998, 158). Pracharart estimates that although 'convert' Buddhists might attend heritage temples and volunteer their time to help with temple tasks, because they doubt the karmic results of giving (donations), they fail to give financial support for the running of the temple (2004, 138). In contrast to temple routine in Asia, there tends to be no almsround organized by the Theravâda Buddhist temples except for symbolic alms collection on festive occasions (Pracharart, 2004, 140, 204). Temples are financed by 'heritage' supporters rather than the numerous 'convert' Buddhists who may attend meditation activities. One excuse westerners claimed for not giving financial support to their temple was

[20] Although under UK law, if they are charitable organizations they do receive financial advantages and as religious communities, the discounting of council tax.

that they understood Buddhists were not supposed to accumulate wealth, and therefore they had little (left over) to give to the temple (Pracharart, 2004, 158).

Childrens' Activities

Heritage Buddhists tend to attend the temple as a family instead of going there individually (as would be more common for a convert Buddhist). Since children attend the temple in significant numbers, there are generally activities organized specifically for them, which can be grouped loosely into Buddhist activities and language activities. Most Thai and Burmese temples organize novice ordination schemes for boys during the summer school vacation (e.g. Miller, 1992, 210-217; Pracharart, 2004, 151) – ostensibly as a meritorious way for children to repay their debt of gratitude to their parents (Pracharart 2004, 143) – but more pragmatically as an influential time of formal induction into their religious tradition for the boys of Buddhist families (Thananart, Tori & Emvardhana, 2000). Days dedicated to children's activities are organized by some temples on an annual basis. Wat Buddhapadipa organizes its 'children's day' to coincide with the same event in the Thai calendar each January, while the London Buddhist Vihara organizes its annual 'Rahula Dhamma Day' each April. The SSIBC holds a special Vesak Day celebration for children in May at which children give presentations and are awarded certificates (Deegalle, 2004, 64). Temples often organize school activities to teach their heritage language to the second-generation children. Wat Buddhapadipa hosts a Thai

language school[21] as does the Birmingham Buddhist Vihara (Pracharart, 2004, 144-5, 157-8). Linh Son Temple in Catford organizes weekly classes in Vietnamese language and culture (Law, 1991, 43) and the Medicine Buddha Foundation adds to this Kung Fu classes and a homework club. SSIBC (along with most other Srilankan temples) teaches Sinhala (Deegalle, 2004, 65) at its *daham pasala*. Where a temple organized only 'paper-cutting' activities for its congregation's children, the parents expressed disappointment (Miller, 1992, 192). Some enthusiasm was expressed by Buddhist parents in the UK to form their own school (Miller, 1992, 208), and from 1989 the involvement of the Amaravati community (Miller, 1992, 207) has culminated in the establishment of a school – but as explained in the previous chapter, that school now serves a catchment *other* than second-generation heritage Buddhists. There has, to date, been no further Buddhist heritage pressure to form their own school despite expression of parental dissatisfaction about how Buddhism is represented to their children in mainstream schools (Miller, 1992, 209; Thanissaro, 2011b, 68).

Monastic authority

Heritage communities expect monks to adopt a leading role – both as spiritual teachers and managers of the temple. They would not accept laypeople in this role – although monks might delegate fundraising and accounting tasks to lay members of a temple committee. Convert Buddhists in the UK, by contrast, would generally consider monasticism less relevant to the spread of Buddhism in the West (Bell, 1991, 6).

[21] This caters for over a hundred children aged between 5 and 15 each Sunday.

Links with an Asian country

Heritage temples help to strengthen Asian links, by providing heritage language classes, obtaining monastic teachers from that country and authenticating authority from a lineage in that country. Maintaining the 'plausability structures'[22] which reinforce faith in the upcoming generation takes considerable investment of time, money and energy – and many heritage communities, especially those whose numbers are sparse, may not be prepared to make this investment (Bouma, 2006, 200). The willingness to invest in plausibility structures may be in proportion, again, to the *ethnic assertiveness* of the group in question – and to some extent the degree to which it is felt identity boundaries need to be demarcated (*cf.* cultural cleavage p.55).

Conclusion

Migration often transforms people's sensibilities and values to a worldview that is neither like the community they have left behind, nor entirely like the indigenous population of their new country of residence (Massey et al., 1993, 452). The topic of heritage Buddhists in Britain has remained under-researched, but for this dissertation, it is necessary to be acquainted with this community, since it is the source of most of the target population of Buddhist teenagers in Britain. In this chapter I have argued that the factors which affect whether a temple is formed or not by a Buddhist community, may be related to the degree of ethnic assertiveness of that community

[22] Elsewhere in this dissertation so far I have used the word 'perpetuating structures'

– since the amount a community is willing to invest in perpetuating/plausibility structures depends on the degree the community wishes to preserve its unique identity. Identity may adapt, as in the case of the Cambodian community with home-based worship or pan-Buddhist identification.

The ideal type for heritage-style Buddhist religiosity included the practices of generosity, chanting, meditation, listening to Dhamma sermons at the temple, bowing to the Sangha, taking temporary ordination as novice monks, showing respect toward parents, Buddhist iconography on shrines in the home, support for the Sangha, awareness of other religions, ceremonial marking of rites of passage, and dedication of merit for deceased ancestors.

The features of heritage-style Buddhist religiosity included strong cohesion with extended family, love of learning, harmony-orientation, pragmatism, fatalism, devotional practices, hierarchies, focus on social and cultural activities and collectivism. The temple seemed to have a central role in lending a feeling of community and belonging, without the influence of which children tended to put their British identity first, helping parents in their otherwise difficult task of ensuring their children had a Buddhist upbringing and having features distinguishing it from a convert 'meditation centre' in that they depended on charitable finance, organized children's activities at the temple, perpetuated monastic authority, helped maintain links with country of origin and supported a reciprocal system of generosity.

The sample for research to be outlined in Chapter 7 is derived from 10 communities described here – Srilankan, Thai, Tibetan, Burmese, Vietnamese, Japanese, Bengali, Chinese, Cambodian and Nepalese – because these were the communities that made themselves available as a convenience sample for research at Buddhist activities or online.

The next chapter will deal with the extent to which the features of young Buddhists can be ascribed to their age – and hence deals with the issues of psychology of adolescence and psychology of religion as they pertain to young Buddhists.

Chapter 4

A Psychology of Religion appropriate to Young Buddhists

Thongthida, 13-year-old Thai Buddhist girl -

"If they were to institutionalize every Thai person who believed they had seen a ghost, there would not be enough space (inside) for everyone."

Thanissaro and Kulupana (2015, 29)

Chapter Overview

This chapter aims to locate the description of Buddhist religiosity described in the previous two chapters within the fields of social learning theory and individual differences psychology. This chapter adopts a social-cognitive model using the individual differences approach to examine the cognitive aspects of identity and social learning theory to examine the social aspects of identity. Having set the boundaries for its review, this chapter starts by examining psychological theories of adolescence and their supporting research, moving on to look at theories and supporting research on psychology of *religion* in teenagers and finally highlighting applications of theories and research (where available) for Buddhist young people – to help envisage an approach to the psychology of religion suitable for study of Buddhist teenagers in the UK – a task which is necessary if the research questions are to be properly framed.

The previous two chapters have presented vignettes of the religiosity of British Buddhists of both convert and heritage styles – although the previous available studies have pertained almost entirely to those in the adult age-range. Influences on a young person's identity may come not only from their cultural milieu (social influences) but also the worldview absorbed from religious 'ethos' and nurture activities (cognitive influences). Identity traits normal for *young* Buddhists might not be found in Buddhists who are older. For this reason, this chapter has reason to examine the religious psychology of young people *in general* to give age-related

background against which the psychology of young Buddhists can be compared and contrasted to preclude age-related anomalies.

This chapter contributes new knowledge by cutting through many of the contested definitions surrounding the psychology of religion to present an operational overview of aspects of the psychology of religion that are experimentally testable. It is also a groundbreaking attempt to locate the study of Buddhists within the field of individual differences psychology and social learning theory.

For young people, the experience of religiosity between childhood and adulthood seems to be a watershed when high or low involvement with religion can crystallize into the religious habits of a lifetime (Ozorak, 1989; Tamminen, 1991). Adolescence is an age when it is most likely for a person to have mystical experiences (Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi, 1975, 59) as defined in Chapter 2 (pp.21-22). Nonetheless, it has been recognized as a time of life characterised by doubt concerning religious ideas (Smith, 1941) and shunning of institutional religion (Benson, Donahue & Erickson, 1989; Dudley & Dudley, 1986; Hamberg, 1991). In spite of adolescent potential for religious interest, in contemporary British (Savage et al., 2006) and other western societies (Mason, 2010; Mason, Singleton & Webber, 2007, 331-2) religious attitudes seem to have succumbed widely to liberal secular individualism in the postmodern form. The theories of adolescent formation of religious identity have closely followed the paradigm of adolescent identity formation current to their era.

What I will *not* be covering in this chapter in any detail will be Early/Classical theories of adolescence, psychoanalytic/stage theories of adolescence, personality psychology or social psychological approaches to adolescence such as developmental contextualization or the focal model which conceptualize religiosity as an independent variable contingent on other cognitive processes of the mind – my justification for this omission is detailed in the 'choice of paradigm' section below.

Some Key Terms

Although the use of terms is important in every chapter of this dissertation – nowhere is this more the case than for this chapter on the psychology of religion since ambiguous use of psychological and religious terminology can make it impossible to make meaningful comparisons between different religious studies purportedly measuring the same variables. Having defined religiosity in general terms in Chapter 2, this chapter clarifies religiosity in more the specialist connotation of its component dimensions. Accordingly, 'intrinsic religious orientation' is when a person 'lives' their religion – usually contrasted with 'extrinsic religious orientation' which means application of religiosity to faith commitments and religious judgements – measurement along these two poles of orientation originated with the (adult) Religious Orientation Scale (ROS)(Allport & Ross, 1967) and has been adapted validly for adolescents (Gorsuch & Venable, 1983). To these two poles of orientation are sometimes added 'Quest religious orientation' which is a way of being religious that focuses on complexity, doubt and tentativeness (Batson & Ventis, 1982, 149)

and consideration of all three dimensions together has been referred to as the New Index for Religious Orientation (NIRO)(Francis, 2007).

The word 'identity', although the definition derives from stage-theory psychology, would for my purposes be best defined as that which a person means to themselves and appears to mean to those significant to them (Erikson, 1977, 106). According to this definition of identity, two influences on religious identity might be discerned: social influences on identity including relationships with parents and the perpetuating structures of religion that give meaningful interpretation of religious experience, while; cognitive influences on identity might include such aspects such as peer concensus, self-esteem or mystical experiences.

Finally, faith stage theory is a model of the development of (mainly intellectual understanding of) religiosity propounded by Goldman (1964; 1965) and further developed by Fowler (1981) that conceptualizes religiosity not as developing smoothly and incrementally, becoming more nuanced with age, but remaining stable during distinct stages of increasing nuanced quality with rapid periods of development in between.

Choice of paradigm for research in the Psychology of Religion

This dissertation favours a social-cognitive attribution of influences on young peoples' religiosity where the 'social' part will be approached more ecologically in terms of the social learning model whereas the cognitive influences will be cross-sectioned in terms of the psychology of individual differences. The reason I have framed the research in the social learning model and individual differences approaches rather than the classical or stage-theory approaches is because Kay, Francis and Gibson (1996, 52-53) have demonstrated that change in attitude toward religion fails to fit the pattern predicted by formal operations thinking and that the incremental nature of the change would be much more readily explained by socialization to the adult world. Most strikingly, the individual differences approach has shown, in complete contradiction of the expectations of stage-theory developmental psychology, that a young person's religiosity/attitude toward religion was shown to *decrease* from the age of 8-16 rather than increase (Francis, 1976). Of further relevance to this dissertation, only partial substantiation of the faith stage theory was obtained when applied to the religiosity of Buddhists (Furushima, 1983; 1985). This thus aligns the focus of interest in this chapter squarely with the social learning model for development of religiosity in adolescents – especially where this can offer a richness that complements the depth of data from individual differences research, it allows hypotheses to be tested concerning observed data and gives a longitudinal dimension to perspective on development of religiosity in adolescence.

It should be remembered, however, that narrowing the research focus in this way causes huge possible areas of religious significance to be passed over – although it should be added that where these have been studied within the psychology of religion, even in childhood and adolescence, the findings have often remained inconclusive. Such areas, which will not be dealt with here in any detail, include frequency of temple attendance, bowing to parents, personal meditation practice and mystical experience (in this survey sampled by a single question).

Individual Differences Approach

Given that the study of psychology can focus on the respects in which a person is like *all* other people, like *some* other people or like *no* other people (Kluckhohn, Murray & Schneider, 1953, 53), the individual differences approach to psychology locates itself within 'differential psychology' i.e. the ways in which a person is like 'some other people'. It is an approach that remains mindful of the important variation between individuals that can be masked by averaging and is based on an assumption that human behaviour is not entirely random but has discernable patterns to it and that deeper and more covert organizing factors can be accessed and measured by appropriately devised psychometric instruments (Francis, 2009a, 127-8). The approach has the advantage of generating generalizable quantitative data suitable for correlational research – especially by allowing multivariate analysis of factors underlying personality or identity. The approach has not been without criticism (Lerner & Castellino, 2002, 124) concerning its trustworthiness when examining

developmental processes in adolescence, because the datasets obtained are only one instance of what does or *could* exist – and hence can give rise at best to a *unilevel* theory of development – which may be misleading if the main effects observed are in fact embedded in higher-order interactions. Furthermore, the quantitative methods of the individual differences approach, while allowing strengths and positivity/negativity of covariance to be ascertained, cannot without experimental manipulation confirm the direction of *causal* relationships. Measurements feasible within the broad paradigm of 'individual differences' approach to psychology of religion, are generally limited to the behavioural component of religion (Francis, 2009a, 130).

Independent Variables found linked to religiosity through Individual Differences

Religiosity as a personal trait that varies from one person to another, has within the psychology of individual differences been shown important from the point of view of mental health in terms of coping and in its relationship with other personality factors (Maltby, Day & Macaskill, 2010, 572f.). Religiosity is thought to fulfil an important human need by framing a sense of meaning, especially concerning influences that go beyond what can be seen with the naked eye – parts of religiosity seem to be socially constructed, others seem more intrinsic and individual to a person. Hyde (1990, 162) has summarized more than sixty years of research regarding religiosity to show striking agreement that factors affecting the religiosity in children include sex, age, I.Q., moral development, church-going, parents, school and social

class. I will return to the measurement of religious attitudes as it pertains to this particular study in more detail in Chapter 6 which deals specifically with the mapping of religious values – nevertheless, the nature of correlations with some of the pertinent variables are mentioned here in passing (as some fall outside the possible scope of this dissertation) to give an idea of the breadth of the field.

Frequency of Prayer: Children who prayed, from the age of four to six were often unable to distinguish between religious and magical elements – giving way to more purely religious content in later years (Tamminen et al., 1988). Although what a young person considers to be prayer may differ from that of an adult (Poloma & Pendleton, 1989), the depth of prayer experience has been shown to correlate with the degree of the child's intrinsic religiosity. Belief in the efficacy of prayer has been shown to decline with age – corresponding with doubts about religion in adolescence that may often grow throughout the teenage years.

Frequency of attendance of a Place of Worship: Frequency of attendance of a place of worship has been found more securely to predict the conservativeness of a person's sexual behaviours than religious affiliation (de Visser et al., 2007).

Attitude toward religion: It is only since the 1950s that religious attitudes toward the Judeo-Christian tradition have been recognized as providing a powerful locus in the development of psychological health (Allport, 1950) and balance between conscious and unconscious parts of the mind (Jung, 1938, 50). It was a groundbreaking contribution to adolescent research in the psychology of religion when Harold Loukes (1961) paid attention to what young people themselves said

about their religious attitudes in a study of 500 teenagers from British schools. Twenty-five years of work with the Francis Scale of Attitude toward Christianity (FSAC) have consistently shown a negative correlation between Christian religiosity and psychoticism and a positive correlation with happiness (Francis, 2009a, 136-137, 140-141). The movement to the individual differences paradigm has brought with it a resurgence of interest in the subject since the late 1990s (Dein & Loewenthal, 1998).

Psychological Type: Instead of concentrating on the *extent* to which a person is religious, newer studies of personality and religion have shifted their focus to *how* they are religious. Specific scales of personality have been constructed to elucidate the different styles of religiosity as they relate to personality – and here I will mention measures of religious orientation and the Jungian personality theory and some of its major derivatives – the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI)(Myers & McCaulley, 1985), the Keirsey Temperament Sorter (Keirsey & Bates, 1978) and the Francis Psychological Type Scales (Francis, 2005a). It has for example, been suggested that the perceiving function is crucial for individual differences in religious expression (Ross, Weiss & Jackson, 1996). There have been many studies aimed to ascertain whether those of a particular personality type (stereotypically, introverted, neurotic, mentally ill, over-anxious, personally inadequate, authoritarian, motivated by a need for social conformity, dependent or overtly suggestible) have a greater sensitivity to religion or are more inclined to become religious. Investigation of this question has led to studies comparing of religiosity with scores on Eysenck's JEPQ-R which

is a personality scale that was not construed with religion in mind. Data from adolescents have disconfirmed any link between religiosity and neurosis or emotional instability – better mental health and resilience in times of emotional difficulty being found amongst believers (Hyde, 1990, 196) and indeed, recent research has shown intrinsic religious orientation to be associated with low psychoticism on the JEPQ-R (Francis, 2010). This finding supports the theory that religiosity is a valuable coping mechanism for the enhancement of mental health. Although, in adolescents, religiosity has been positively linked to empathy (Francis & Pearson, 1987), it also correlates with higher scores on the lie scale (Francis, Pearson & Kay, 1988) – the latter indicating either diminished maturity, more social conformity or more tendency to tell lies for religious adolescents.

The Jungian model of personality type uses *categories* rather than continua – with three pairs of bipolar constructs – the extraversion (E)-introversion (I) orientation (or attitude); the sensing (S)-intuitive (N) functions[1] and the thinking (T)-feeling (F) functions. For Jung, the S- and N-functions were grouped together as judging (J) functions, and the T- and F-functions were grouped together as perceiving (P) functions. Thus, Jungian psychological types are referred to by *three* letters – for example 'EST' – giving a total of eight possible personality types. Amongst Catholics and Episcopalians intuitive feelers had more mystical experiences than non-intuitive feelers (Dendinger, 1983). Amongst high-school students, the sensing or judging types tended to have religious beliefs that were more concrete, literal and traditional,

[1] Or 'core processes'

whereas the intuitive or perceiving types tended to be less orthodox and more figurative and flexible in their beliefs (Childerston, 1985; Lee, 1985).

In a later modification of the Jungian personality typing by Myers-Briggs, since either the J- or P- functions were demonstrated to dominate a person's type, Myers-Briggs typing would consist of a combination of *four* letters with the final letter referring to the externalized function for that person – for example, 'ESTP' – the possible combinations giving a total of sixteen personality types (Jung, 1971). Strong positive covariance has been shown between the Jung's intuitive (N) orientation and the NIRO Quest dimension of religiosity and positive covariance between Jung's introversion (I) orientation, intuitive (N) and feeling (F) functions and the NIRO Intrinsic dimension of religiosity (Ross & Francis, 2010). The Myers-Briggs Type Indicator showed that those of particular personality types were predisposed to different styles of religiosity. Campbell (1983) has shown that high levels of mystical experience in students (as measured on the M-scale) were associated with higher scores on the intuition and feeling scales, there being no associated correlation with sex or the introversion-extraversion orientation. Psychological type has been found to be in varying degrees connected with attitude toward Christianity (Fearn, Francis & Wilcox, 2001; Francis, Jones & Craig, 2004a; Francis et al., 2003; Jones & Francis, 1999), mystical orientation (Francis, 2002; Francis & Louden, 2000a; Francis et al., 2007b), charismatic experience (Francis & Jones, 1997; Jones, Francis & Craig, 2005) and different styles of believing (Francis & Jones, 1998; 1999; Village, 2005).

Sex: The anecdotal observation that women are more religious than men is borne out in empirical studies. Although Yinger (1970, 134) cites that men were predominant in public acts of worship for some religions, including that of Japanese Buddhists, the consensus is generally that females (Hood, Hill & Spilka, 2009, 152), including teenagers (Greer, 1972) are more positively disposed to religion than males.

Self-esteem: Religiosity has also shown to be positively correlated with young people's self-esteem (Carter, 1979; Francis & Carter, 1980) as measured by the Coopersmith Self-Esteem Inventory (Coopersmith, 1967).

Ethnicity: Since the survey will also be looking for differences in segmented assimilation due to ethnicity, religious style (derived from ethnicity) as an individual difference will be cross-tabulated against the values profile. Black-Africans were found to have higher levels of intrinsic religiosity in adolescence and pre-adolescence than European- or Hispanic-American students (Milevsky & Levitt, 2004). Black tenth-graders have been shown more religious than White or Hispanic peers but their religiosity did less to protect them from substance abuse than for religious Whites – with the religiosity of Whites thus construed as more of an 'individual choice' than for the other ethnic groups (Wallace et al., 2007).

Social Learning Theory

As the Individual Differences approach may give snapshots of religious identity from age to age, it is important to synthesise the fragments of data capture through an ecological understanding of the internal and external influences on the formation

of religious identity in a person. For many years observational learning through social modelling was trivialized because it was understood to be nothing more than response mimicry. Social cognitive theory is better understood in the early years of the twenty-first century as a learning theory based on the idea that people learn by watching what others do and that human thought processes are central to understanding personality. While social cognitists agree that there is a fair amount of influence on development generated by learned behaviour displayed in the environment in which one grows up, they believe that the individual person (and therefore cognition) is just as important in development (Santrock, 2008, 26, 30, 478). Social Learning Theory derives from social psychology, and through the influence of Albert Bandura (1977) has helped researchers realize that socialization is much more nuanced than mere mimicry – with behaviour being patterned from diverse sources (personal agency, proxy agency and collective agency) and involving designed and unintentional learning, where principles can be extracted from one context and applied to another.

Social Learning Theory applied to Religion

Bandura has characterized *religiosity* in terms of Social Learning Theory as 'socially grounded rather than just an intrapsychic self-engagement with a Supreme Being' (2003, 171). Oman and Thoresen (2003) have argued that the process of social learning described by Bandura (1986) can be made pertinent to spiritual modelling – where nurture leads to benefit or harm depending on the type of spiritual role

model followed (Silberman, 2003). In its religious context, the four components of the process of social learning comprise: 'attention' found in processes such as practising meditation, 'retention' facilitated through repetitive nurture activities such as devotional chanting, storytelling or textual materials, 'reproduction' engendered through activities that foster humility towards the good of the religious community and 'motivation' trained through expressions of gratitude and thanksgiving.

Perpetuating Structures

Social Learning Theory also helps explain how the plausibility or perpetuating structures discussed elsewhere in this chapter function in practice. The literature on social learning in Buddhist adolescents is scant with the exception of reference to how Buddhist religiosity seems to be linked with moral training (Pupatana, 2000), socialization of respect (Howard, 2004), not identifying with a fixed notion of self (Epstein, 1995, 67-68) and the practice of meditation (Radhi, 2002). In Asia parents and children tended to spend more time together than was the case in the UK (Miller, 1992, 195-196). In short, Social Learning Theory recognizes that there are internal and external factors to the formation of a community's religious identity which work as a dialectic.

Locus of control

It has been argued that whether a person is religious or not, they need to attribute causes to the experiences they have. In the social-cognitive theory of religion, some empirical evidence has been found for Attribution Theory, with religious students being more inclined to attribute events to supernatural causes, as compared with non-religious peers who tended to attribute the same events to physical causes (Slocumb, 1981). The degree to which individuals regard what happens to them as self-determined or due to chance is known as 'locus of control'. A more internal locus of control has been demonstrated in internally-orientated religions such as Protestantism, than in Catholicism, Judaism (Shrauger & Silverman, 1971) or Evangelical Christianity (Gabbard, Howard & Tageson, 1986).

Psychology of Religion as it applies to Buddhism

Possible contrasts with other religions

Being able to fit concepts to a scientific framework is not the *only* important criterion for academic endeavour because theory formation outside the scientific framework is also considered valuable if it can be shown to be comprehensive, parsimonious or of applied value (Pennington, 2003, 15). Nonetheless, Jung's analytical psychology, for example, *has* been criticised for lack of scientific rigour in its analysis of Buddhism (Yogo, 2001), but these criticisms could equally well have been directed at other purely qualitative studies of the religion. It should be noted that even the orientations of 'introvert' and 'extravert' pioneered by Jung are alien to Buddhism. Possible contrasts recognized in advance of the survey design phase included the psychology of minority ethnic groups, collectivism, social capital and atheism.

The psychology of minority ethnic groups

The formation of identity in adolescents of minority ethnic groups has been recognized as a complex special case for which theorists have proposed models separate from those presented at the beginning of this chapter – the additional complication being that a young person must come to terms with their own ethnicity. In a nutshell, four positions have been posited, arranged along two dimensions – closeness of relations with a wider society and retention of cultural traditions – where the integrated position is where individuals are high on retention and form close relations with wider society; the assimilated position where individuals are low on retention but form close relations with wider society; the separation position where individuals are high on retention and low identification with the wider society and marginalization position where individuals are low on both dimensions (Phinney & Devich-Navarro, 1997).

Collectivism and Social Capital

As mentioned in Chapter 3, previous research has focussed almost exclusively on the psychosocial norms of individualistic societies, but recently and of relevance to this particular dissertation, studies have turned their attention to more collectivist societies where individuation during adolescence is not encouraged (Kroger, 2004, 83) and indeed differences in separation-individuation have been shown between Asians and Whites (Gnaulati & Heine, 2001; Kalsner & Pistole, 2003). Differences in country of origin can make a difference to the degree of adolescent identity

exploration regarded as normal as exemplified by Scandinavia where there are greater pressures toward social conformity than in the United States (Jensen et al., 1998; Stegarud et al., 1999).

Atheism

Formerly, within the psychoanalytic/stage paradigms of adolescent development, an enthusiastic attitude to religion, specifically Christianity, was associated with lower levels of psychological health. The classic writings of Sigmund Freud depicted the Judeo-Christian tradition as capturing the human psyche in a state of infantile immaturity, leading to psychological vulnerability and neuroses (Freud, 1950; Vine, 1978). Freudian psychology has explained God-ideation in terms of unresolved complexes concerning parents. Indeed, empirical studies have repeatedly shown children's and adolescent's conceptions of God to coincide with idealized parental qualities across cultures (Desjardins & Tamayo, 1981), religious affiliation (Vergote, 1981) and sex (Bulkeley, 1981). Although the attribution constructs described above have been based on studies of the Judeo-Christian tradition, it is conceivable that in principle they should hold for Buddhism too, since for Buddhists attribution of events to the working of the Law of Karma, rather than luck is central to the religious worldview.

Since no studies have explored God-ideation outside theistic cultures (Hyde, 1990, 96), it is pertinent for this dissertation to state that Buddhism is a religion that is not based on the tenet of belief in a creator God. It follows that Buddhists generally

regard God-ideation as the *artificial* product of formal theistic nurture, rather than attributing it to psychoanalytic development, since millions of children in Buddhist cultures (Fonner, 1993) and possibly in general (Giesenberg, 2007), form no spontaneous idea of God, in spite of the potential to project idealized parental qualities. Previous research conducted on non-Buddhist religions has been too dependent on beliefs as an indicator for religiosity. The movement to individual differences should be welcome in the study of Buddhism as long as belief or affiliation is not considered a proxy for other aspects of religiosity.

Likely parallels with other religions

Sex differences in religiosity

That women are more religious than men would also seem to be true for attitudes toward Buddhism (Barnes, 1994, 146; Kirsch, 1977, 251), although when considered in detail, and in the eyes of non-Buddhist adolescents, Thanissaro (2010c, 77) has shown that the more *affective* aspects of Buddhism such as charity, gratitude, festivals, expressing respect, moderation in drinking and compassion towards animals appealed more to adolescent girls, whereas adolescent boys had a comparatively more positive attitude to taking care of parents in old age, meditation and technical aspects of Buddhist teachings such as stories, Nirvana, reincarnation and impermanence.

Parallels with atheism

A recent study of Buddhist religiosity as opposed to that of Christians or Atheists has shown that Buddhists are more likely than Christians to use meditation or silence to get in touch with their inner spirit but less likely than Christians to resort to a higher being to cope with the challenges of life or see prayer as part of their spiritual nature (Caldwell-Harris et al., 2011, 663).

Conclusion

Since data ideally need to be both 'cross-sectional' and 'longitudinal' in order to understand the topic of identity, the psychological approach deemed suitable for examining young Buddhists in the UK might include (respectively) elements of both the individual differences approach and social learning theory. Individual differences will tell us about differential cognitive or internal influences on identity formation. The social psychological study of individual differences – especially those of attitudes and personality allow measurements to be more generalizable, while identifying statistical links between religiosity, sex, ethnicity, self-esteem, mysticism, frequency of prayer, frequency of attendance of a place of worship and so forth. The Social Learning Model especially in its examination of the *development* of identity and the role of social nurture is also highly relevant to the study in hand since it deals with the whole rather than merely the parts – allowing, for example, the relative importance of issues adolescents cope with, to be compared between individualist and collectivist societies. Study of religious practice is also highly relevant because it not only tells us not only the content, but the mechanism of nurture. Finally, all of

the above need to be moderated by appreciation for special influences Buddhists may experience in the UK as a minority and for heritage Buddhists as an ethnic minority. Constrictive researcher constructs may hinder the recognition of aspects of implicit religion as contributing to religious identity. Where removing shoes, immodesty and same-sex socialization might be safely overlooked when studying the religiosity of Judeo-Christian children, for Buddhists these very issues might reveal facets of identity close to the Buddhist heart. Unfortunately, these issues might not fit neatly with the unidimensional conceptualization of world cultures claimed to depend entirely on democratization and economic prosperity (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005). Four contrasts with current psychological theory based on a religiously undifferentiated population that may not allow findings from other religions to be generalized to Buddhism which have been identified in this chapter are Jungian bias, paths of cultural assimilation, features of identity, collectivism and atheism. One also needs to take great care that what one perceives as uniquely Buddhist may be little more than a reflection of lack of privilege or lack of fluency in a second language in a dominant culture or a reflection of aspects of Asian collectivist values rather than measuring anything specific to Buddhism. Under both paradigms an age-related change in understanding of religion has been noted through childhood and adolescence meaning that the age of the subjects must be taken into account when comparing studies.

What follows in the next chapter will deal with the choice of values-mapping questions on secular values.

Chapter 5

Adapting Secular Values Mapping to profile Young Buddhists

Ma Ni, 15-year-old Burmese Buddhist girl -

"Religion is … something that teaches you how to live ... your life – and most of the people believe in such religion because they are brought up in a certain way…"

Chapter Overview

This chapter presents three bodies of data from which values areas potentially significant to the mapping of identity in young Buddhists can be drawn. The first is a review of values areas found to be important in previous surveys of values in young people (in which nomenclature for values areas is sufficiently clear to allow comparison) noting the values areas found to be the most important to young people in each. The second is qualitative data from young Buddhists themselves – from published data I have previously gathered from focus groups and semi-structured interviews. The third is literature authored by young Buddhists. From these three sources a selection of dependent variables concerning values has been made. Significant independent variables are then identified and the modifications to surveys used for religiously undifferentiated samples when applied to Buddhist young people are also discussed.

In the tradition of rigour demonstrated by Francis and Robbins (2005, 10), I start by clarifying the provenance of the values agenda chosen for the quantitative phase of research described in this dissertation. Great pains have been taken in this chapter[1] to demonstrate that the choice of values areas to be used in the quantitative survey is grounded in the participants' experience rather than the researcher's *a priori* assumptions. Values mapping, as it has been applied here to Buddhist teenagers in Britain has been derived from three interrelated processes. The first process has

[1] This statement of provenance applies equally to the three religious values areas and scale of attitude toward Buddhism described in Chapter 6.

been a careful and exhaustive review of previous empirical research concerning the values of teenagers. The second process has been to draw upon qualitative data collection from the same sample of Buddhist teenagers to whom the quantitative survey described from Chapter 7 onwards will be deployed. The third process has been a review of the (scant) grassroots literature authored by Buddhist teenagers. The content has been included at this point in the dissertation to show how the Individual Differences approach as applied to mapping values in a religiously undifferentiated population, can act as a control for the values profile of Buddhist teenagers considered from Chapter 8 onwards. The values areas concerning social relations, such as those toward friends or parents, also help place this study in the framework of Social Learning Theory. This chapter deals specifically with secular values areas – more religious values and attitude toward religion being taken up separately in Chapter 6. It is also worth pointing out that there is often overlap between religious and secular values – my own division between the secular and religious values of Chapters 5 and 6 being mostly a logistical convenience.

This chapter makes at least two new contributions to knowledge – it tries to define Buddhist values experimentally and it gives an overview of what difference is made to the values of young people from an undifferentiated population by various independent variables including age, sex, social class, Buddhist affiliation and religious style.

Some Key Terms

When values are the dependent variable in research, it is often hard to know what exactly the researcher is describing. If attempting to define values, we must accept the limitations of our definition since it cannot avoid being contested. Unfortunately the framework of 'values areas' [most recently referred to as 'values domains' (Francis & Penny, 2013)] and comparison data for other or undifferentiated religion comes from an era when the word 'values' was understood differently. As I have explained in the position paper *Is values theory still relevant to religious research?*[2] attitude patterns may tell us more about the ideology and worldview, than values per se, which in their current hermeneutic by Schwartz have been moved to a level of description altogether meaningless to religion. For the purposes of this dissertation I offer relevant definitions as follows: the word 'values' has been used in the imprecise lay sense of 'what people value',[3] 'worldview' would mean a collection of *conscious* beliefs about how things are or should be, ideology would mean a largely unconscious rhetorical association or set of associations between things, people, actions or activities and 'best possible living', constructions that are learned and maintained in a social environment and the neutral term 'attitude' would mean value judgements expressed in a situation - in this quantitative research project, as degree of agreement or disagreement with 'values area'-relevant statements.

[2] Thanissaro, P.N. (2014) *Is values theory still relevant to religious research?* (Conference Paper presented at the 7th Conference of the International Society for Empirical Research in Theology, at York St John University, York, UK on 4 April 2015). Downloadable from *https://www.researchgate.net/publication/261292988_Is_values_theory_still_relevant_to_religious_research* (accessed 23 June 2015)

[3] Precise psychological terminology does not admit use of the word 'values' but requires a choice between the technical terms 'values type', 'values system' and 'values priority'.

Identifying Important Youth Secular Value Areas

There is nothing new about the empirical mapping of young people's values. Previous general mapping of values in young people have been addressed by qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods research designs.

Qualitative studies have included Steen et al.'s (2003) focus groups with 459 American 14-19 year olds which demonstrated the teenagers' particular admiration of leadership, practical intelligence, wisdom, social intelligence, love of learning, spirituality and the capacity to love and be loved as character strengths. Dworkin et al. (2003) conducted focus groups with 55 American adolescents on their experience of their own personal and interpersonal development – finding adolescents tended to describe themselves as their own agents of development and change, with youth activities as merely the context for such identity work. Shucksmith and Hendry's (1998) interviews with 44 young people concerning health issues, highlighted the role of peers in giving support and advice.

Mixed methods studies have included the Department of Education and Science's (1983) study entitled *Young People in the 80's* based on group/individual interviews and surveys with around 600 teenagers. Also, in their study *The Faith of Generation Y* Collins-Mayo et al. (2010) built up a vignette of the religious style they termed the 'happy-midi narrative' by means of 151 interviews and 297 surveys with British churchgoing and non-churchgoing 11-23 year olds.

Quantitative studies have included Beinart et al.'s (2002) national survey of risk behaviours and teenage problems and Furnham and Gunter's (1989) study, where

although deploying multiple surveys, the researchers did not mention involving young people at the planning stage in choice of questions which were eventually fielded to two-thousand 12-22 year olds.

The reason why these studies are mentioned in passing rather than being examined in more detail is that their values agenda is not stated sufficiently clearly for them to be directly compared with the values mapping of the present study. Most importantly, it is not clear whether the values agenda is participant generated or has been imposed by the researcher.

In this study, I have from the outset, tried to map the values of young people rigorously making sure the voice of the participants is heard – because there is some degree of sensationalism even in purportedly authoritative treatments of young peoples' values which would have us believe, for example, that young people all want to have cosmetic surgery to look like celebrities (Huntley, 2006, 136) whereas according to empirical data few would admit even identifying with celebrity culture, let alone altering their appearance to conform with it (Halsall, 2004, 413). Values mapping tries to go beyond media portraits of the young generation by determining the areas of particular interest and concern to young people and measuring the range opinions within it.

Both secular and religious values areas can be cross-tabulated against independent variables such as sex, social class or age to give important clues as to the influences on identity development in young people. As we have seen from Chapter 4, a young person's identity depends largely on how they construe themselves – therefore such

value areas are important, more than ever in the present age (Giddens, 1991), in empowering a young person to conceptualize their (own) theory of themselves. If some of the features that give identity to Buddhist young people are not entirely religious, mapping of the values may reveal clues as to differences in the secular sphere between Buddhist and non-Buddhist teenagers of comparable age. Indeed for the Cambodian Buddhist community of Britain, Hodges drew attention to values such as the changing role of women, relationships between family members and subsequent generations and the question of intercultural marriage which although falling outside the scope of religious values nonetheless inform them (2010, 48). This chapter deals with the values areas that are *secular* (although right and wrong, substance use etc. might have spiritual currency in some religions) – the values areas of religious convictions, religion and society, superstition and the supernatural being left to Chapter 6.

Previous Findings for Religiously-Undifferentiated Young People

There have been a number of major surveys of young peoples' secular values for which the values areas have been defined sufficiently clearly to allow comparison. In chronological order, I present brief vignettes of those studies as follows:

Francis (1984) surveyed 1,328 young churchgoers of age 13-20 from the North of England presenting his findings in the book *Teenagers and the Church: A profile of church-going youth in the 1980s* and examining the values areas of personal well-

being, personal worries, religious beliefs, public worship, moral attitudes, work, politics, social concern and leisure – being able to cross-tabulate results in terms of sex, age and Christian denomination.

A ten-question survey of 820 British 15-year-old pupils from a variety of schools in urban and rural locations entitled *I Like to Say What I Think* estimated there to be six aspects to young people's values: values expected of them by their upbringing, ideals, preferred companions, activities and reflections when alone, aims in life and philosophies about life (Simmons & Wade, 1984).

In a qualitative study of 50 young people in the Northeast of England in the 1980s friendships, work, family, local area, lack of vision for the future, discrimination and stereotyping were found to be the most important value areas for young people (Coffield, Borrill & Marshall, 1986).

Teenage Religion and Values profiled just over 13,000 British Christian 13-15 year olds using the Centymca[4] Attitude Inventory to examine the relationship between values and three different conceptualizations of religion within the Christian context (Francis & Kay, 1995). The survey concentrated on fourteen values areas of: work, sexual morality, substance use, right and wrong, leisure, 'my area', school, well-being, concerns, religious beliefs, the supernatural, worries, church and society and politics. Responses on the values questions were cross-tabulated with age, sex, church attendance, belief in God and Christian denomination.

From interviews with 60 young people in America, discrimination, media, technology, social concerns, school, friends, concern about sex, family, aims in life,

[4] Abbreviated from 'Central Young Men's Christian Assocation' – named after the London location where this family of surveys was first developed

anxiety about death and 'core values' were found to be the most important value areas (Lewis, 1996).

The first sample of the Young People's Social Attitudes (YPSA) survey – collected structured interview data from 580 British 12-19 year olds on their social attitudes (Roberts & Sachdev, 1996) and concluded that the most important value areas for young people were rights, responsibilities, the age of consent, gender roles, family life, racial prejudice, discrimination, crime, punishment, education, politics, the media, religion, right and wrong.

From a sample which included 108 young people between the ages of 14 and 27 from different areas of the United Kingdom Monica Barry (2001) found friendship, family, school, work and employment, being in care, having children of their own, citizenship and discrimination to be the most important value areas.

In a survey of 3,501 Canadian 15- to 19-year-olds Reginald Bibby (2001) highlighted the following main areas for young peoples' values, namely: friendship, freedom, being loved, having choices, material comfort, being successful, school pressure, concerns about violence, sexuality, drugs, identity, religion, family, hopes for a future career, family and travel.

From interviews with five twenty-year-olds who had 'lapsed' from the Irish Catholic church, Oliver Brennan (2001) found religion and spirituality, technology, media, travel, family, friends, social concerns, local area and the 'core values' of happiness, love, friendship, honesty, freedom, life itself, good health, experience of birth, death, pain and hurt to be the most important value areas.

The Values Debate study (Francis, 2001c) which surveyed 33,982 English 13- to 15-year-olds, examined the values areas of personal well-being, worries, counselling, school, work, religious beliefs, church and society, the supernatural, politics, social concerns, sexual morality, substance use, right and wrong, leisure and 'my area' making a total of 15 value areas. The survey responses were cross-tabulated against the factors of sex, social class, parental separation/divorce, church attendance and watching television.

Relevant data from the Alberts et al. (2003) study of 1,217 South African 12-16 year olds surveyed the perceived importance to identity of fourteen value areas – namely: future career, religion, politics, moral values, life goals and ideals, leisure and recreation, gender roles, choice of friends of the same sex, choice of friends of the opposite sex, choice of person they would like to date, choice of person they would like to have a permanent relationship with, choice of person they would like to marry and sexual matters. Cross-tabulation was performed for the factors of sex and ethnicity. The research found the seven values areas of future career, moral values, family matters and relationships, religious beliefs, marriage behaviour, choice of person with whom to have a permanent relationship or marry to be overall the most important to the participants. Politics and sexual matters were deemed least significant.

In a survey of 2,973 English 13- to 15-year-olds Anna Halsall, based on the survey used in *The Values Debate*, claims to have revised its inventory and the language used to make it relevant to young people at the beginning of the twenty-first century

(Halsall, 2004, 88). In her survey, thirteen value areas were examined: core values (how she justified her selection is explained at Halsall, 2004, 117), aims in life, family, relationships and friends, fitting in, communication, the media, discrimination and stereotyping, concerns and fears, school and education, hobbies and social life, substance use, politics and war and religion (Halsall, 2004, 110, 150) with the aim of developing the Halsall-Francis Values Inventory (HaFVI) – which was intended as an exhaustive list of value *areas* of concern to young people in the UK.

The Francis and Robbins (2005) study entitled *Urban Hope and Spiritual Health: The Adolescent Voice* cross-tabulated the spiritual health[5] of 23,418 British 13-to 15-year-old Christian, Muslim, Jewish, Hindu and Sikh adolescents living in urban areas, against individual differences of age, sex, living in the north or south of England, whether their parents were employed or divorced, type of school attended, social engagement, religiosity and religious affiliation. Although expressed in terms of Fisher's (1998) definition of spiritual health, the values areas covered by the survey are the same as used for the previous 'Centymca' family of surveys, covering the values areas of personal wellbeing, worries, counselling, school, work, religious belief, church and society, the supernatural, politics, social concerns, sexual morality, substance use, right and wrong, leisure and 'my area'.

Sylvia Baker (2009) surveyed the attitudes of 695 British 13-16 year olds attending Independent Church schools – 89% of whom were self-ascribed Christians – covering

[5] On the four levels of Fisher's (1998, 191) framework i.e. the personal, communal, environmental and transcendental levels

Table 5.1: Young People's Secular Values Areas surveyed in previous research

	Francis (1984)	Simmons & Wade (1984)	Coffield et al. (1986)	Francis & Kay (1995)	Lewis (1996)	Roberts & Sachdev (1996)	Barry (2001)	Bibby (2001)	Brennan (2001)	Francis (2001c)	Alberts et al. (2003)	Halsall (2004)	Francis & Robbins (2005)	Baker (2009)
Personal Wellbeing	✓			✓						✓			✓	✓
Personal Worries	✓			✓						✓		✓	✓	✓
Dependency Strategies														✓
Counselling										✓			✓	✓
Peer Groups/Friends			✓		✓		✓		✓		✓	✓		✓
Parents/Family		✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		✓
School & Education					✓	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓
My Area			✓	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓
Aims in Life		✓		✓	✓						✓	✓		✓
Personal Responsibility														✓
Visions for the future			✓											
Being in care							✓							
Having a family of one's own							✓	✓			✓			
Travel								✓	✓					
Ideals		✓									✓			
Reflections when Alone		✓												
Philosophies of Life		✓												
Age of Consent						✓								
Gender Roles						✓					✓			
Rights & Responsibilities						✓								
Freedom & having Choices								✓						
Being loved								✓						
Material Comfort								✓						
Violence								✓						
Identity								✓						
Citizenship							✓							
Right & Wrong/Moral & Legal	✓			✓		✓				✓	✓			✓
Sexual Morality				✓	✓					✓				✓
Sexism & Sexuality								✓						✓
Anti-social Behaviour														✓
Substance use				✓				✓		✓		✓		✓
Media & Technology			✓		✓	✓			✓			✓		✓
Work & Employment	✓			✓			✓	✓		✓	✓			✓
Politics	✓			✓		✓				✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
Global Fears														✓
Environmental Issues														✓
Social Concern	✓			✓	✓					✓		✓	✓	
Stereotyping & Discrimination			✓		✓	✓	✓					✓		
Leisure	✓	✓		✓							✓			

the values areas of personal wellbeing, worries, dependency strategies, friends, family, school, counselling, school, aims in life, personal responsibility, work, religious belief, church and society, the supernatural, politics, sexual morality, sexism and sexuality, anti-social behaviour, substance use, right and wrong, media and technology, global fears, environmental issues, leisure and 'my area' – being able to cross-tabulate results in terms of sex, age and whether they were self-identifying Christians or not.

Table 5.1 summarizes the consensus of young people's values indicated by previous research listed by values area. There are of course strengths and weaknesses to reaching a consensus of previously researched values areas by counting the number of times particular headings have been included to indicate values areas in previous surveys. Two weaknesses in drawing conclusions in this way are that an author could theoretically perform 'vote stuffing' by repeatedly publishing papers that used the same headings. Secondly, the name of headings might belie actual questions used under each heading (information that is not always readily available in article-length publications) – leading the casual observer to peg conclusions on language rather than the underlying constructs. The strength of this approach, however, is the value of sharing common ground with previous research when comparing Buddhist results to a religiously undifferentiated sample, and therefore, while recognizing the approximate way this selection has been reached, I started to shortlist my own choice of values areas questions based on the most frequently employed values areas that have gone before – a list to which value areas more specialized to Buddhism were later added.

Based on this part of the literature review, eleven secular value areas were chosen for this particular study – namely: Personal Wellbeing, Personal Worries, Peer Groups/Friends, Parents and Family, School and Education, Right and Wrong/Moral and Legal, Substance Use, Media and Technology, Work and Employment, Social Concern and Stereotyping and Discrimination – for the reason they have been considered the most potentially important values areas by most of the quantitative surveys examined (all of them have been used on four or more previous surveys). On the basis of this initial selection, I have triangulated further with other data sources, diversifying particularly into Buddhist content, to minimize anomalies based in top-down assumptions carried over from previous research.

Triangulation with Focus Group and Other Qualitative Data

In addition to reviewing previous literature, I have given particular priority to Focus Group data on the Value Areas considered most important by Buddhist teenagers in the target group. Thanissaro (2013b) published data focus groups with subset of the Buddhist teenagers surveyed in this dissertation and found the values areas important to Buddhist teeenagers in decreasing order of importance were: 1.parents; 2. education; 3. friends; 4. substance use; 5. belonging to a community; 6. social life online and offline; 7.local area; 8. relationships; 9. religion; 10. internet; 11. what people think of you; 12. consequences of your actions; 13. finance; 14. time management; 15. expectations; 16. the future, and; 17. crime.

Also drawn upon were data from semi-structured interviews with Buddhist children and parents living in Britain where values areas expressed as important (but not included in the values areas mentioned above) were respect (as distinct from tolerance), filial piety, chanting, bowing, meditation, keeping Precepts, charitable donations and financial support of a temple monastic community, volunteering help with temple chores (Thanissaro, 2011b). These values have been integrated into the Buddhist attitude scale which has been included in the survey used in this study.

Young Buddhist voices in Literature

The final source of triangulation with 'thick' values data from Buddhist adolescents has been literature authored by the teenagers themselves. Although in the UK, Buddhist youth literature has not appeared as a genre, in the United States the publication of two collections of essays bears witness to the number and solidarity of Buddhist teenagers. The collections compiled by Sumi Loundon (herself a former Buddhist teen), were written by young Buddhists about their own experiences of growing up in the United States and are entitled, *Blue Jean Buddha* (2001) and *The Buddha's Apprentices* (2006). These two books indicated some additional Buddhist values that I have chosen to add to the survey since they were not included in previous general surveys of teenager's values, but were important enough to those teenagers to have been taken up as the subject of those teenager's essays (Loundon, 2001, xvi). Values which the Buddhist teenagers tried to come to terms with in their essays had little overlap with the values areas mentioned by teenagers generally and included issues such as becoming a monk or nun, being a 'proper' Buddhist, the need for a Buddhist spiritual teacher, mixing teachings from several different Buddhist traditions, learning an Asian language or going to live in Asia; whether meditation sufficed as a Buddhist practice, socializing by preference with Buddhist and same-sex friends, supporting their parents in their old age and whether they valued their individuality more than collective accomplishments.

Significant Independent Variables for Individual Differences

Sex-differences

Between boys and girls there is a significant difference between values profiles. Young women are more likely than young men to have a lower level of personal wellbeing, worry more about personal safety and relationships, need someone to turn to for advice and need support from talking through problems with friends, desire support from their mother rather than their father, project a positive attitude toward school but experience higher levels of school-related anxiety, show a slightly lower sense of purpose and ambition in work and a greater dislike of unemployment, show less interest in party politics, are less racist in attitude, are more concerned about world issues, more accepting of homosexuality and divorce but less accepting of under-age sex and abortion, less permissive about the use of all substances except tobacco, are generally more law-abiding, less satisfied with their leisure time and the place they live and experience more parental control over their free time (Francis, 2001c, 109).

Age-differences

Even between the ages of 14 and 15 there is a significant change in the values profile of young people – a trend which continues as they move towards adulthood. The older children have been shown to be more self-confident, desire more support from friends and less support from parents, be more reluctant to discuss problems with professionals, be less positive about school and more worried about schoolwork.

They show greater abhorrence of unemployment, display more racist attitudes, feel more positive about their effect on the world's future and hold more permissive attitudes about sex outside marriage, abortion, divorce, substance use, regard police more negatively, experience more conflict with parents about use of leisure time and feel less positive about the area where they live (Francis, 2001c, 81).

Socio-economic Group

Social class is also an important predictor of differences in values amongst young people. Those from social classes 1+2 [classification according to the table of occupations prepared for the 1980 census (Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, 1980)] as compared with Classes 3, 4 and 5, enjoy a higher level of psychological well-being, worry more about personal relationships, benefit from a closer relationship with parents and close friends, hold a more positive attitude toward school, a greater abhorrence of unemployment, more confidence in the Conservative party, less confidence in the Labour party, display more concern for the Third World, hold a more liberal attitude toward divorce, abortion and homosexuality, a more proscriptive attitude toward drug use, regard police in a more positive light, have a more positive view of their leisure time and feel more positive about the area where they live (Francis, 2001c, 134-5).

Christian affiliation

Some idea of the likely effect of Buddhist identity on values can be gleaned by examining the effect on adolescent values of affiliation to other religions. Such data is available for Christian affiliation thanks to two examples of values mapping already mentioned above, conducted in specifically Christian adolescent populations – one of adolescents attending mainstream church schools (Francis, 1984) and the other of young teenagers attending independent Christian schools (Baker, 2009) – comparisons thought valid in spite of the time lapse between the datasets, since the questions asked were worded identically.

On the subject of personal well-being and self-concept, more young churchgoers said they thought life worth living (84%) and that they had purpose in life (62%)(Francis 1984, 113) than young people of the same age in a religiously undifferentiated sample (70% and 56% respectively). The same trend was borne out in other research (Francis, 2005; Francis & Robbins, 2005, 234-6), with Baker showing clear denominational differences (2009, 177). Young churchgoers indicated having roughly the same proportion of mood swings, fits of depression and feeling of being 'worth something' as found in a religiously undifferentiated population – but the churchgoers had a lower rate of suicidal ideation (Francis, 1984, 114; 2005b, 139; Francis & Robbins, 2005, 234-6). Christian affiliation was found to some extent to protect adolescents from unwanted peer pressure (for example, towards drug-taking) with less than half (47%) feeling unwanted pressure by peers (Baker, 2009, 191) as compared to more than half (53%) in a religiously undifferentiated population

(Halsall, 2004, 242). Christian adolescents were found to have a relative lack of family tension with nine-tenths finding their parents supportive, half (52%) finding their mother's advice helpful and over two-fifths (42%) finding their father's advice helpful (Baker, 2009, 193) as compared to over four-fifths (86%) finding parents supportive, more than half (56%) finding the mother's advice helpful and little over a third (35%) finding the father's advice helpful in a religiously undifferentiated population (Halsall, 2004, 230). In school, the Christian adolescents were more often bored (41%), but comparatively happy and satisfied (28%) enjoying less worries about bullying (Baker, 2009, 194) as compared with those in a religiously undifferentiated population where only a third were bored, only a tenth (11%) were happy or satisfied and more than three-quarters (76%) were worried about bullying (Francis, 2001c, 32). Young churchgoers seemed less worried about their relationships with others and their sex lives (Baker, 2009, 183; Francis, 1984, 115-116) than young people in a religiously undifferentiated population (Francis, 2001c, 29) with confidence in this area increasing with age (Francis, 1984, 116). On the subject of work, 94% of young churchgoers said it was important for them to work but only 45% found it important to spend their earnings. Young churchgoers were less ambitious (80%) than non-churchgoing peers (87%) to be promoted to the top of the workplace management. Slightly fewer young churchgoers (14%) said they would rather go on the dole than do a job they didn't like than for young people in a religiously undifferentiated population (18%)(Francis, 1984, 105). Concerning substance use, churchgoers were less permissive than those of a religiously

undifferentiated population with over two-fifths (41%) finding drunkenness unacceptable and three-fifths finding marijuana unacceptable (Francis, 1984, 81) as compared respectively to a fifth (19%) and half (51%) amongst a religiously undifferentiated population of the same age (Francis, 2001c, 48). For the values area of 'right and wrong' three-quarters of churchgoers eschewed travelling on public transport without a ticket (Francis, 1984, 86) as compared to little over half (54%) in a religiously undifferentiated population of the same age (Francis, 2001c, 50). Concerning the media, a quarter of 13- to 15- year-old church-goers were concerned about violence on TV (Francis, 1984, 85) as compared to only a fifth (20%) from a religiously undifferentiated population of the same age (Francis, 2001c, 44).

Applying Values Mapping to Buddhism

Values exclusive to Buddhists

The values most useful in measuring Buddhist religiosity would be those with high levels of correlation with Buddhist affiliation and low levels of correlation with non-Buddhist affiliation. Some indication of religion-specific values was shown in young Buddhist scores on a Teenage Nonviolence Test (TNT). Buddhist youths had higher scores for aptitudes for non-physical non-violence, psychological non-violence and 'search for wisdom and truth' [*satyagraha*] subscales as compared to adolescents of other religions (Mayton, 2009). This reflects the particular value Buddhists accord to compassion and there may be other aspects of Buddhist-specific values, many of which concern aspects of behaviour and deportment, that may be measurable by

psychometric testing – especially as Thanissaro has previously suggested (2010c, 31n1), the ten components of Right View[6] but possibly reaching as many as thirty-eight behaviours considered auspicious [*mangala*] by Buddhists.[7] The ten components of Right View are incorporated in the scale of attitude toward Buddhism that is included in the survey deployed in the present study. In a 96% non-Buddhist sample of British adolescents, Buddhist values which showed a low level of correlation with non-Buddhist affiliation were paying homage to the Buddha, the worth of meditation, ordination, Buddhist stories and Nirvana, complete abstinence from drinking alcohol or fishing, the ultimate emptiness and impermanence of the mundane world and looking after one's parents unasked (Thanissaro, 2010c). Another value which seemed resilient in Buddhists was respect for parents (Miller, 1992, 197).

'Buddhist' values shared with those of other religions

Previous studies (e.g. Walter & Waterhouse, 1999) have indicated there are many so-called 'Buddhist' values which are in fact shared by those identifying with other religions. Such values were found specifically to include welfare work, the Law of Karma, care of parents in old age, the subjective nature of happiness, understanding as a basis to belief, friendship and generosity (Thanissaro, 2012b, 337-8). Complete

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[6] Namely: i. valuing generosity, ii. valuing welfare work; iii. honouring those worthy of respect, iv. acknowledging the karmic retribution of action; v. acknowledging the reality of this world; vi. acknowledging the reality of the next life; vii. repaying a debt of gratitude to one's mother; viii. repaying a debt of gratitude to one's father; ix. the existence spontaneously-arising beings; x. that enlightenment can be achieved by those who practise well.

[7] Kh.v.3, Sn.259-268

abstinence from alcohol (Miller, 1992, 191) is also a value shared with some other religions [although this attitude has been demonstrated to vary in Britain, from one Buddhist denomination to another (Trafford, 2009)]. In some of these cases, it may mean that the 'identity' of Buddhism is discernable from a particular *combination* of values, rather than particular values *per se*. In other cases overlap may be attributable to spurious underlying variables shared between Buddhists and participants of other religious affiliation.

Shared values possibly attributable to underlying variables

Where values that feature in Buddhist identity are not particularly Buddhist, they may be a product of the geographical and socio-economic circumstances of the majority of Buddhist people. Some (e.g. Black, 1993) have gone as far as to suggest, that Buddhists only believe in rebirth and karma, because it was the prevailing worldview in India at the time when Buddhism was introduced. If it is the case that the values attributes of Buddhism would not correspond to particularly religious features, but rather to the features of the 'old world' values, from where Buddhism originated, then Buddhists should have cultural values indistinguishable from those of other religions originating from similar geographic regions and socio-economic backgrounds. This assertion has been given empirical currency by Inglehart and Welzel (2005, 49) who have shown, in an analysis of the World Values Survey, covering 85 countries, that 70% of variation in cross-cultural values can be accounted

for merely in terms of the economic and democratic stance of their home country along two continua of 'traditional-secular/rational' and 'survival-self-expression'. Traditional values were indicated by God being important in a person's life, bringing children up to be obedient and religiously faithful rather than autonomous, disagreeing with abortion, national pride and respect for authority – secular-rational values reflect the opposite of these. Survival values were indicated by priority of economic and physical security over self-expression and quality of life, being unhappy, rejecting homosexuality, disinterest in petitions and distrust of other people – self-expression values reflecting the opposite of these. In their synopsis, less developed and undemocratic countries would show greater predominance of traditional/survival values whereas wealthy, democratic countries would abound with secular-rational/self-expression values – the implication being that religiosity in a developed country is somehow the vestige of a less privileged national history or that secularization is the natural consequence of human progress. Some migrant groups are known to have particular values that give their community social capital – as for example with the Asians of the US who have drawn on values particular to their own culture in a way that has allowed them to do better than expected (given their socio-economic situation) compared to other immigrant groups (Feliciano, 2006, 2). Buddhists too, may not only have different responses within the same value areas, but may give special importance to values areas outside of these.

More recently, Inglehart and Welzel's World Values Survey (WVS) unidimensional conception of 'progress' has been challenged for being biased toward individualistic

values – with Singelis et al. (1995) proposing a horizontal-vertical axis as separate from the individualist-collectivist poles in order to account for the full variety of cultural values in the world, where, horizontal collectivism means seeing the self as part of the collective, but that all members of the collective are the same; vertical collectivism is seeing the self as part of the collective, but accepting inequalities within the collective; horizontal individualism is the conception of the autonomous individual with the acceptance of inequality; while vertical individualism is the conception of the autonomous individual with the emphasis on equality. Building on a similar two-dimensional structure, Cheng et al. (2011) have presented compelling evidence that Asian countries have their own set of 'integrative' values while African countries are more '*inter*dependent' in their values.

It is for this reason that it is necessary to survey not only the secular values and opinions that form part of the teenager's identity, but the values specifically concerned with the Buddhist religion – a subject I now turn to in the chapter that follows. I have therefore included in the survey a selection of the key WVS questions and also questions on the 'horizontal' and 'vertical' varieties of collectivism.

Conclusion

As a result of my survey of previous values mapping research, I have selected the areas considered most important (in religiously undifferentiated) by young people of this age group for testing as dependent variables – namely, personal well-being and self concept, worries and concerns, their friends, school, work, family,

stereotyping and discrimination, social concern/issues, substance use, right and wrong and the media. The general picture of values for young people is then cross-tabulated against the independent variables of religious affiliation, sex, age, social class and religious style. In addition to these secular values derived from study of primarily undifferentiated populations, triangulation with my other two sources has led me to fine-tune to topics expected to clarify values of special relevance to a Buddhist population – namely questions derived from the WVS, an indicator of individualism versus collectivism on the horizontal and vertical axes and a set of questions shown to be of concern in Buddhist youth literature.

What follows in the next chapter will deal with the choice of remaining values-mapping questions which deal with more specifically 'religious' values.

Chapter 6

Adapting Religious Values Mapping to Profile Young Buddhists

Thai mother -

"They have started to express their interests now. They show respect for me as a parent. They seem interested to learn about where Buddhism came from. They ask why we follow religion. They ask why our religion is not the same as that of others..."

describing her daughter's curiosity about Buddhism (Thanissaro, 2011b, 67)

Chapter Overview

This chapter presents, in addition to the secular values areas considered in the previous chapter, an overview of the *religious* values found most important in previous surveys of young people, concluding the values areas most pertinent to the current research. From this overview, a selection is made of dependent variables concerning religious values areas. Significant independent variables are then identified and note is taken of modifications made to surveys used previously for religiously undifferentiated samples to make them fit for purpose for Buddhist young people. As previously mentioned, it is not just values, affiliation, belief and practice that are measurable aspects of religion but also their attitude toward religion (Francis, 2009b) and in this chapter a more detailed treatment is given of the measure of attitudes toward religion with special reference to Buddhism.

The word 'religiosity' has already been defined generically in Chapter 2. Nonetheless, at this point in the dissertation, it is necessary to be more specific about the definitions of *subcomponents* of religiosity since, as mentioned in Chapter 4, different aspects of religiosity can be measured independently – thus operationally, religiosity can be referred to in terms of cognitive and affective components or measured by degrees of its components of practice, attitude, affiliation and belief.

This chapter contributes several new perspectives to the measure of religious values. It defines the components of religiosity more exactly and ecumenically than has previously been attempted. It also draws together the measurement of attitude to Buddhism in a new way including the independent variables of age, sex, social

class and religious affiliation. It also gives one of the most current overviews of adaptation of scales for the measure of attitude toward religion for non-Christian religions.

Some Key Terms

At this juncture in the dissertation, it has become essential to define the distinctly measurable aspects of religiosity. Affiliation, practice and (to some extent) belief, have been defined already in previous chapters. The aspect I have so far left undefined is 'attitude toward religion' which is one of religiosity's more *affective* components. It could be argued, however, especially for religions such as Buddhism, that even those who don't profess Buddhism may demonstrate an empathy for it (Knott, 2005, 56) especially with a wide acceptance in western society of such concepts as rebirth (Walter & Waterhouse, 1999), perhaps as an offshoot of the New Age paradigm (Cush, 1996). Thus, sometimes in place of the word 'faith' or 'piety', a more neutral term applicable irrespective of a person's loyalties is 'attitude toward religion' a term which Francis (1978, 122) defines as:

> "A relatively permanent and enduring evaluative predisposition to a positive or negative response of an affective nature which is based upon and reflects to some extent evaluative concepts or beliefs learned about the characteristics

> of a referent or group of referents which come within a definition of the religious."

In some literature [e.g. O'Connor et al. (2003)] the terms 'attitude toward religion' and 'religiosity' seem to be used interchangeably, but as I have already explained, religiosity certainly consists of at least four measurable[1] aspects – of which attitude is only one.

Identifying Important Youth Religious Values Areas

Previous studies of religiously undifferentiated young people

Many surveys of young people's values described in the previous chapter completely omitted to ask questions concerning religious values areas (Barry, 2001; Coffield, Borrill & Marshall, 1986; Lewis, 1996; Simmons & Wade, 1984). Other surveys have tried to include young peoples' religious values, but sometimes for reasons of incompatability of definitions, question wording or research methodology, it has been impossible to draw meaningful comparisons between previous research and the present.

For example, in Furnham and Gunter's (1989) survey of British adolescents, a section was included on 'religion and the paranormal' based mostly on 'yes-no' questions concerning church attendance, belief in God, belief in the afterlife, astrology, superstition, the paranormal and psychical powers.

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[1] And many more potential ones that may be near impossible to measure.

In semi-structured group interviews with 124 British 15- to 25-year-olds tried to identify young people's interest in the Church but found instead a liberal secular individualism of a late-postmodern form (in their words a 'happy-midi narrative') – hence portraying the younger generation as cynical, unreligious and obsessed with soap operas (Savage et al., 2006) – a finding Thanissaro (2010c, 89) has argued anomalous due to the narrow range of questions asked tangential to religious and spiritual interests of young people invested elsewhere and a possible example of imposing the researcher's framework[2] of interpretation on the young people's own views. Nonetheless, several previous surveys of young people *have* asked questions about religious issues and have verified important values areas. With religion, if the subject is treated in a cursory way – for example, if youngsters are not asked questions about it specifically – it may be passed over as unimportant.

In Australia, Mason, Singleton and Webber (2007) conducted a three-stage study into the religiosity of 13-24 year olds – topics emerging in interviews with 91 young people were included in a phone-survey of 1,219 young people and a second round of follow-up re-interviews held with 26 of the original interviewees who exhibited particular styles of spirituality. Religious values areas which emerged as important from the study were media-use, self-development activities, activities relating to peace and happiness, the meaning of life, values, social concern, altruistic behaviour, volunteer activities, decision-making, religious beliefs, identification with a religion/

[2] In this case, although the authors claim to have used a grounded, bottom-up approach to analysis (p.32) they admit (p.30-31) having imposed their own 'task questions' and having interpreted the young peoples' responses through Tom Wright's (1992, 123) hermeneutic rather than a framework derived from the young people's own agenda.

denomination, attendance of religious services, family, friends, religious practices, religious experience, practices specific to a particular religion, alternative spiritualities, school influence on spirituality and religious education.

Collins-Mayo et al.'s survey of the faith of British adolescents was framed by six topic areas: spirituality, purpose in life, prayer, belief in God, decision-making and Christianity – although it is unclear how the researchers arrived at this choice of framework – the researcher stated their main agenda as measuring the impact of Christian consciousness-raising interventions by youth workers (2010, 31).

There are also several other studies that I have already described in Chapter 5 which have included clear religious values areas – notably those of Brennan (2001), Roberts and Sachdev (1996), Bibby (2001), Francis (1984; 2001c), Francis and Kay (1995), Francis and Robbins (2005), Halsall (2004) and Baker (2009). Those that have included questions on religious convictions, church and society, the supernatural and superstition included Francis (1984; 2001c), Francis and Kay (1995) Francis and Robbins (2005), Baker (2009) and Halsall (2004). In addition, Baker (2009) fielded questions on images of God, Life after Death, Non-Traditional Beliefs, Creation and Evolution, Science and the Bible and Scientism.

The previous research which is most easily compared to the present study is research where quantitative research questions have been based largely on the young peoples' own agenda. For the research design to be fully 'grounded', usually this would mean having the young participants tell the researcher which issues they

consider the most important and to design the research schedule accordingly. With this condition in mind, I have collated the values areas found important by previous research and this is presented below (Table 6.1) as a tabulation of the consensus of young peoples' religious value areas highlighted in previous research, listed by Values Area.[3] The values selected for this study are 'religious convictions', 'church and society' and 'the supernatural and superstitions', which have been chosen since they have been employed in no less than six previous pieces of Values Mapping research.

Table 6.1: Young People's Religious Values Areas surveyed in previous research

	Francis (1984)	Furnham & Gunter (1989)	Francis & Kay (1995)	Roberts & Sachdev (1996)	Bibby (2001)	Brennan (2001)	Francis (2001c)	Halsall (2004)	Francis & Robbins (2005)	Mason et al. (2007)	Baker (2009)	Collins-Mayo et al. (2010)
Attitude to Religion/Christianity											✔	✔
Religious Convictions	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔
Images of God											✔	
Attitude to Christianity											✔	
Life After Death		✔									✔	
Church & Society	✔		✔				✔		✔	✔	✔	
Alternative Spiritualities										✔	✔	✔
Superstition/Supernatural	✔	✔	✔				✔		✔		✔	
Creation & Evolution											✔	
Meaning/Purpose in Life												✔
Religious Experiences										✔		
Peace & Happiness Activities										✔		
Volunteer Activities										✔		
Altruistic Behaviours										✔		
Self-development activities										✔		
Science & the Bible											✔	
Decision-making										✔		✔
Church attendance/practice		✔								✔		✔
Scientism											✔	

[3] The discussion of strengths and weaknesses in concluding consensus of the most common previous value areas of the previous chapter in this way applies equally to the religious value areas identified in this chapter.

Significant Independent Variables for Individual Differences

Religious Affiliation

Some idea of the likely effect of Buddhist affiliation on young people's values can perhaps be estimated by reviewing the general impact of religious affiliation found in previous research. Such data is available from values mapping studies where similarly-worded values questions were deployed amongst Christian and non-Christian adolescents and the results compared. A clear contrast is also gained from Francis's comparison of the superstitions of 136 boys attending Christian schools in the 1990s as compared with 12,823 attending non-denominational schools (Francis, 2005b, 134-5).

Christians

For Christian-affiliated adolescents 85% believed in God (as compared with two-fifths in a religiously undifferentiated population) and 73% believed that Christianity was the only true religion (Baker, 2009, 134) [as compared with 47% in a religiously undifferentiated population (Francis, 2001c, 36)]. Amongst the young Christians 73% believed in life after death [as opposed to 45% in a religiously undifferentiated population (Francis & Robbins, 2005)] and 84% believed that Jesus really rose from the dead (Baker, 2009, 136) [as opposed to 30% in a religiously undifferentiated population (Francis, 2001c, 36)]. For young Christians more than two-thirds disagreed that Church [67%] and Bible [71%] were irrelevant to life today (Baker, 2009, 143) [as compared to 28% and 29% for the respective disagreement in a

religiously undifferentiated population (Francis & Robbins, 2005)]. Four-fifths of young Christians wanted to get married in church [as opposed to less than three-quarters (73%) in a religiously undifferentiated population] and seven-tenths wanted to baptize children in church [as opposed to little over half (54%) in a religiously undifferentiated population (Baker, 2009, 143; Francis, 2001c, 39)]. Young Christians were more enthusiastic about the teaching of RE and CW in school [81% for RE and 30% for CW] (Baker, 2009, 143) – since the respective figures for a religiously undifferentiated population were 33% and 6% (Kay, 1996, 272). More young Christians agreed that Christian ministers did a good job [68% (Baker, 2009, 143) as opposed to 46% in a religiously undifferentiated population (Francis, 2001b, 39)]. Young Christians were less likely to believe in horoscopes, fortune-tellers and spiritual mediums [four-fifths, 78% and 58% dismissal (Baker, 2009, 146) as compared to 35%, 50% and 31% dismissal in religiously undifferentiated (Francis & Robbins, 2005, 221)].

Non-Christians

In the identity formation in young Hindus, Muslims and Sikhs in the UK, Eleanor Nesbitt found it inadequate to characterize identity as merely 'bicultural' but instead proposed three *axes* of 'Britishness', 'Asianness' and 'religion' (2004, 118). Boundaries of identity were not exclusive of other faiths, and seemed to be formed by an ongoing process of 'self-narration', a part of which included the depiction of their own religion at school (Nesbitt, 2004, 114). For young Moslems, religious identity often took

precedence in the second generation over the regional identities (in this case Pakistani) of their parents (Jacobson, 1997; Shaw, 1994) – and the term 'core identity' although not monolithic, is sometimes used to indicate aspects of identity shared with others in the same religious community (Nesbitt, 2004, 121) – lending credence to the framework of Robert Jackson (1997, 65) that the individual, group and tradition elements of religious identity work in *layers* that to some extent vary independently.

Buddhists

The question of Buddhist identity and attitude underlies many unexplored topics in Buddhist religiosity and nurture. For other religions, the question of internal diversity seems to have been passed over without much trouble, especially where membership means signing up to a defined creed – for example, it could be said that a person was Christian if they adhered to Christian creed. Although I have documented the diversity of the presence of Buddhism in the UK in Chapters 2 and 3, nonetheless Buddhist denominations show strong continuities as well as divergences between them, and can be traced back to the common doctrinal foundation of the Buddha (Seiwert, 1986; Waterhouse, 2001, 120). Although there has been some confusion amongst social scientists about values specific to Buddhism – such as thinking Buddhism advocates poverty and espouses only relative truths (Hofstede, 2001, 80, 363) – a more careful examination reveals many aspects of Buddhist values that would map differently from that of a religiously undifferentiated population. In semi-structured interviews with Buddhist parents and children living in the UK,

parents were aware of nurturing values in their children such as respect (as distinct from tolerance of difference), self-discipline and filial piety in the home (Thanissaro, 2011b). Other value areas likely to be of special importance to Buddhists, but missed in previous instruments for values mapping should include enlightenment as an aim in life, compassion toward animals, heaven and hell, the law of karma and telling lies.

Indeed Buddhist values have been sufficiently quantifiable to be factored into research concerning psychiatry (Scotton, 1998), alcohol abuse (Assanangkornchai, Conigrave & Saunders, 2002), moral training (Pupatana, 2000), psychosocial change (Thananart, Tori & Emavardhana, 2000), psychoanalytic defence mechanisms (Tori & Bilmes, 2002), psychological therapy (de Silva, 1996) and learning English as a foreign language (Adamson, 2003) – despite there never having been a specific study to map out values in young Buddhists in a way that allows those values to be compared with those of a non-Buddhist population.

Furthermore, since it cannot be assumed that any sample of young Buddhist people is 'largely undifferentiated' (Phoenix, 2000, 95), it would be advantageous to add different factors – and if this study could be open-ended would ideally add factors to the normal measures of religiosity such as 'frequency of bowing to parents', 'having a home shrine', frequency of temple attendance, frequency of personal meditation practice, self-esteem, denomination, mystical orientation, having had a religious or spiritual experience and being a 'proper Buddhist' - since these factors have previously proved significant factors for non-White respondents in the UK (Thanissaro, 2010b).[4] It is rare to find such complex modelling for Buddhist values,

[4] Papers analyzing the statistical links between these factors and Buddhist attitudes are in preparation by the present author for publication *extra-dissertatio*.

with the exception of the work of Orasa Suksawang (2004) who has used system dynamics to model how Buddhist values can be applied to solve social problems such as drug addiction.

Sex Differences

In previous research it has been found that female respondents are more likely than males to believe in God and the positive aspects of superstition, but less likely to believe in the negative aspects of the latter. They will also be more likely to have a positive attitude about the role of church in society (Francis, 2001c, 109). Gender differences regarding religion that have been demonstrated for adults (Greeley, 1992) have also been shown to apply to young people – with girls' attitude toward religion generally being the more positive (Roberts, 1996). For Dutch adolescents within the context of RE, the aspect of seeing religion through 'gendered glasses' has recently been described (ter Avest, Jozsa & Knauth, 2010, 388) by the relatively higher tendency for girls to respect others irrespective of religion, see study of religion as helpful for community cohesion and learning about themselves, and to talk about religion.

Age Differences

In previous research it has been found that even in the short space of time between age 13 and 15 years, young people become less likely to believe in God and tend to feel less positive about the role of the Church in society (Francis, 2001c, 81).

Social Class

In previous research it has been found that if respondents are from social classes 1 and 2, they will be more likely to believe in God and hold a more positive attitude toward the Church, but are less likely to believe in horoscopes (Francis, 2001c, 135).

Attitude toward Religion

Moving away now from values mapping – this chapter now devotes a section to the consideration of values specific to the objects of faith within a religion – in fact a values area which has been shown to correlate with the religiosity of a person. If the term 'core values' were used in relation to religious identity, these values might be construed as the (unprojected) 'core' of a person's faith or religious identity – although some of the questions overlap with the values area of 'religious convictions' for belief-based religions such as Christianity. Such values are less concerned with extrinsic religiosity than the values contained in the values areas of 'religion and society' or 'the supernatural'.

Measurement of Attitude toward Religion

In practice, attitudes tend to be assessed by verbal methods and as such tend to be treated independently of 'religious involvement' as a person, in theory, a person might be favourable to a religion without adhering to its beliefs or engaging in its practices – although there is evidence from much quantitative research to suggest that this is rarely the case (Argyle & Beit-Hallahmi, 1975, 4; Kay & Francis, 1996, 191) i.e. attitude, practice and belief tend to be closely correlated – but as explained

already in Chapter 2, affiliation may not always correlate reliably with the other measures.

Much of the empirical knowledge of attitude toward religion has been generated by quantitative studies in the psychology of religion employing recognized questionnaire measures. Nonetheless, in the measurement of religious attitudes, the researcher needs to be careful in defining the attitude to be measured, be attentive to methods of assessment, examine the correlates of the attitude dimension of religion and spirituality, examine individual differences in attitude in correlation with attitude to religion to learn about its antecedents and consequences and lastly apply the research findings to practice (Francis, 2009b).

The Francis Scale of Attitude to Christianity and its Derivatives

One scale of attitude toward religion that has inspired equivalent measures across different religions is the Francis Scale of Attitude toward Christianity (FSAC). The FSAC was rooted both in a conceptual analysis of attitude theory and in an empirical evaluation of attitude scaling techniques, superseding earlier 'opinion' studies or imprecise scaling procedures incompatible with significance testing (Francis, 1978, 120). The theoretical and empirical background to the scale was fully documented by Francis (1988). In this foundation study, Francis compared the two main schools of attitude theory historically advanced within social psychology. One school, represented by Krech, Crutchfield and Ballackey (1962) construed attitude as a three-dimensional construct combining affective, cognitive and behavioural

dimensions. The second school, represented by Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) conceptualised attitude as a one-dimensional construct concentrating on the affective dimension. Francis followed the Fishbein school, arguing that unidimensional constructs are more amenable to unambiguous assessment, while the cognitive dimension of religion properly belonged to the domain of assessing religious beliefs and the behavioural dimension of religion to the domain of assessing religious practices or religious behavioural intentions.

Assumptions of the original instrument: Francis (1988) compared the five main attitude scaling techniques employed in social psychology – namely those of Thurstone (1928), Likert (1932), Guttman (1944), Edwards (1957) and Osgood, Suci and Tannenbaum (1957). By testing the performance of these various methods among different age groups, Francis identified the Likert scale as providing the most reliable and consistent scaling properties from the age of eight upwards through childhood and adolescence into adulthood. The 24-item Likert scale, originally published by Francis (1978), contains both negative and positive items concerned with an affective response to five 'objects' of Christian faith accessible to and recognised by both children and adults, namely God, Jesus, Bible, prayer and Church. Each item is assessed on a five-point scale (agree strongly, agree, not certain, disagree, disagree strongly) producing a range of scores from 24 to 120.

Testing the reliability and validity of the original scale: The reliability and validity of the scale are vital to its usefulness as an empirical instrument. The word 'reliability' refers to an instrument's ability to measure consistently – whether it be from one

day to the next (as defined by test/re-test trials) or in terms of internal consistency (as defined by split-half comparison)(Kay & Francis, 1996, 173). The word 'validity' (examined in more detail in Chapter 7) is defined as the accuracy with which a scale measures what it is intended to measure. Measures of attitude toward religion are generally considered valid if they can be shown to correlate positively with any of four linked factors, namely: younger age, femininity, religious behaviour and religious involvement (Kay & Francis, 1996, 191). Reliability and validity for FSAC have been supported by studies among adults in Australia and Canada (Francis et al., 1995a), England (Francis, 1992d; Francis & Stubbs, 1987), the Republic of Ireland (Maltby, 1994), Northern Ireland (Lewis & Maltby, 1997) and the USA (Lewis & Maltby, 1995) – but has proved valid down to the age of 8. Below this age, children answering the questionnaire have difficulty distinguishing between the affirmative and negative statements nullifying the validity of the scale against the Lie Scale (Hood, Hill & Spilka, 2009, 387).

Different versions of the FSAC: In addition to the full 24-item form of the Francis Scale of Attitude toward Christianity, a seven-item short form has been developed and tested among adults (Adamson et al., 2000; Francis, 1993c; Francis et al., 1995b; Lewis, Cruise & McGuckin, 2005; Lewis et al., 1998; Maltby & Lewis, 1997) and primary school pupils (Francis, 1992c).

FSAC with secondary school children: For secondary schoolchildren FSAC has been tested for temporal stability (Lewis, Cruise & Lattimer, 2007; Lewis et al., 2006) and it has been field tested for secondary school children in its short form

(Francis, Greer & Gibson, 1991). It has also been correlated with alcohol attitudes (Francis, Fearn & Lewis, 2005); Catholicism (Burton & Francis, 1996; Curran & Francis, 1996); dogmatism (Francis, 2001a); gender (Francis & Wilcox, 1998); intelligence (Francis, 1998); just world beliefs (Crozier & Joseph, 1997); prayer attitudes (Francis & Brown, 1991; Francis & Wilcox, 1996); personality (Francis, 1994; 2000b; Francis, Pearson & Kay, 1982; Wilcox & Francis, 1997) [specifically the dimensions of introversion-extraversion (Francis et al., 1981a; Francis, Pearson & Kay, 1983a; Williams, Robbins & Francis, 2005), neuroticism (Francis et al., 1981b; Francis, Pearson & Kay, 1983b) and psychoticism (Corulla, 1990; Francis, 1992b; Francis & Pearson, 1985; Kay, 1981)], parental influence in childhood (Francis 1993b); psychological health (Francis & Burton, 2007; Francis et al., 2007); psychological type (Fearn, Francis & Wilcox, 2001); psychological well-being (Francis, Jones & Wilcox, 1997); rejection of Christianity (Greer & Francis, 1992); religious experience (Francis et al., 2006a); schizotypy (Joseph & DiDuca, 2001); science and creation attitudes (Francis & Greer, 2001; Fulljames, 1996); self-esteem (Jones & Francis, 1996); social class (Gibson, Francis & Pearson, 1990); social desirability (Gillings & Joseph, 1996), substance use (Francis, 1997) and suicidal ideation (Robbins & Francis, 2009). For secondary pupils, the instrument has been tested in translation through the mediums of Welsh (Evans & Francis, 1996), Arabic (Munayer, 2000), Slovenian (Flere et al., 2008), Romanian (Francis et al., 2009), Estonian (Elken, Francis & Robbins, 2010) and Dutch (Francis & Hermans, 2000). Outside England, the instrument has been field tested for secondary school pupils in Northern Ireland

(Francis & Greer, 1999a; b; c) – at Catholic (Francis, 1987; Greer & Francis, 1991) and Protestant schools (Francis & Greer, 1990); Scotland (Gibson, 1989; Gibson & Francis, 1989); in South Africa (Francis & Kerr, 2003), Hong Kong (Francis, Lewis & Ng, 2002), Israel (Munayer, 2000), Kenya (Fulljames & Francis, 1987) and Nigeria (Francis & McCarron, 1989). The FSAC has proved useful when applied to situations such as deciding the merits of denominational schools.

Transferability to non-Christian religious traditions: Scholars estimate it feasible (Kay & Smith, 2002, 113) to extend FSAC research in Christian adolescents to adolescents of non-Christian religions, and have encouraged the development of comparable attitude scales (Francis, 1997, 101; 1996, 9).[5]

Accordingly, an equivalent scale for attitudes to Islam was pioneered by Wilde and Joseph (1997) with the 'Muslim Attitude towards Religiosity Scale' based upon the FSAC, with ten of the fourteen questions reflecting Francis's concept of attitude, but the remainder concerned with Muslim religious *conduct*. Wilde and Joseph assessed the psychometric properties of this instrument on a sample of 50 Muslim students. This instrument was further adapted amongst Muslim adolescents (Sahin, 2002; Sahin & Francis, 2002) and was fielded amongst Pakistani university students (Khan & Watson, 2006) and in Kuwait (Francis, Sahin & Al-Ansari, 2006; Francis, Sahin & Al-Failakawi, 2008) – although the studies of both Abu-Rayya and Abu-Rayya (2009) and Khan and Watson (2006) have cast doubt over the uni-dimensionality of Muslim religiosity. Abu-Rayya and Abu-Rayya (2009) found that

[5] The issues concerning extrapolating the scale from Christianity to other religions is examined in more detail in Chapter 7.

there are two distinct dimensions of religiosity, styled 'Experiential' and 'Judgmental'[6] which vary independently.

For Judaism (Francis & Katz, 2007) a series of recent studies produced the Katz-Francis Scale of Attitude toward Judaism. In order to achieve a proper comparability between the FSAC and the Katz-Francis Scale, the attempt was made to translate each of the original 24 items in a way appropriate to Hebrew-speaking Jews living in Israel. Using this instrument a study has already been undertaken exploring the relationship between attitude toward Judaism, personality and happiness (Francis et al., 2004b).

For Hinduism, a FSAC-equivalent scale for Hinduism has been devised (Francis et al., 2008c) and correlated with mental health in young Hindus in England (Francis et al., 2008a).

For Buddhism and Sikhism, Thanissaro (2011a) constructed FSAC-equivalent scales and verified their satisfactory internal consistency reliability for 13- to 15-year-old schoolchildren in London. Since the Buddhist section of this scale has yet to be tested for validity on a Buddhist sample, Chapter 13 will also evaluate responses from the sample of Buddhist teenagers. The same approach has also been applied to Paganism (Williams, Francis & Billington, 2010) and also the exemplification of virtue in Cambodian-American Buddhists (Cook et al., 2009). A positive attitude to Buddhism, or Buddhist religiosity should be equivalent to the scripturally based

[6] Not apparently related to the similarly named Jungian personality type categories

concept of Right View [*samma ditthi*] (rather than faith) – but again diverse opinion can be cited as to what might be considered Right View if looking at the Buddhist tradition worldwide (Fuller, 2005). Where it is not possible to essentialize a mainstream Buddhist attitude, scholars of Buddhism find it acceptable to note differences between scriptural expectations and actual practice (Harvey, 2000, 1) and often a person self-identifying with Buddhism is the surest operational indication of being Buddhist. For Christianity, by dealing with the unidimensionality of attitudes rather than religious behaviours, the FSAC seems to have overcome any problems of intrareligious diversity. It is not clear whether internal diversity for Buddhism will be overcome with the same ease, because issues of internal diversity and issues of authority seem particularly challenging (Gombrich, 1996). It is possible that these potential difficulties have meant that until now, systematic attention has not been paid to developing a quantitative measure of attitudes for the Buddhist faith. Nonetheless, within the context of clinical psychology, part of the Thai language testing of the Tennessee Self-Concept Scale (TSCS) involved comparison of TSCS factors and the Lifestyle Index (LSI) with an arbitrarily (i.e. without any scriptural or researched basis) constructed eleven-question schedule of Buddhist beliefs and practices (Emavardhana & Tori, 1997; Tori, 2004, 41) which could be construed as a measure of Buddhist religiosity. The demarcation is likely to be fuzzy as many aspects of Buddhist principles have been shown to enjoy popular appeal amongst non-Buddhists (Thanissaro, 2012b).

Development of Values

In our understanding of Buddhist identity so far, mapping of values and identity within the paradigm of individual differences tends to give only cross-sectional snapshots of a population in a particular window of time. To obtain a more longitudinal perspective, as would generally be necessary for understanding the influences on development of values, it would need several snapshots to assess data in terms of a more social learning theory type of investigation. From what is understood of young peoples' values according to Coleman and Hendry (1999), values are supposed to be established in adolescence – although Francis (2001c) presents evidence that they can continue to change greatly. As mentioned in Chapter 4, the study of unfolding identity is usually the domain of stage-theory paradigms of psychology of religion i.e. the religious knowledge aspect of religiosity. However, within the framework of social cognitive theory, it is interesting to reflect on the extent to which values mapping can also help define the process of acquisition of Buddhist identity. Buddhist nurture in the home has to some extent been explored in a small sample of Buddhist families, where meditation, keeping Five Precepts, visualizing the Buddha inside, tending a home shrine, bowing to parents and chanting were practices performed on a daily basis. Weekly activities included offering food to monks at the temple and taking the Eight Precepts while remembering the anniversaries of ancestors' death and festivals in the Buddhist calendar were more infrequent (Thanissaro, 2011b, 65). Portrayal of Buddhism at school helped Buddhist children learn Buddhist vocabulary and allowed them to have a view of their own

religion that extended beyond their ethnic group (Thanissaro, 2011b, 68, 71). It would certainly be erroneous to assume that the snapshot of 'values areas' obtained by quantitative surveys represents a static, unchanging identity for young people. Just as a child may undergo a process of acquiring values that come to the fore in their adolescence, they may lose them as they move into adulthood, with a renewed interest arising when faced with the challenge of raising their own family in the faith.

Part of the remit of this dissertation is to examine both the antecedents of identity in young Buddhists and the consequences of those identity patterns – a task which requires causal relations to be drawn between factors observed. The only real way correlative studies are able to ascertain causes and effects in the data observed is to conduct longitudinal studies. Failing this, the relative importance of factors can be visualized more easily through the construction of path models of covariance by constructing graphs of the relative weightings of different influential factors. Using this latter technique, Kay and Francis were able to deduce, for example that attitude toward Christianity was made more positive by parental encouragement, church attendance and being female, but was made more negative by scientism (1996, 213) – rendering the values maps somehow more dynamic. Brennan (2001) has observed that upbringing within families affiliated with the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland appeared to affect their values whereas Mounts and Steinberg (1995) demonstrated that young people's values and behaviour are likely to reflect those of their friends.

Conclusion

Thus, as a result of my survey of previous values mapping research, I have selected three areas of religious values considered most important (in general) by young people of this age group to apply to the present study, namely: religious convictions, religion and society and superstition and the supernatural. For the mapping of the core/key values which are thought most indicative of Buddhist identity, I have chosen to deploy a scale of attitude toward Buddhism, the construct validity of which is justified in the next chapter.

Chapter 7

Research Methodology

"No statement about Buddhist doctrine is valid unless Buddhists can respond, 'Yes! That is what we hold.'"

Wilfred Cantwell-Smith (1981, 97)

Introduction[1]

The relative scarcity with which Buddhism is mentioned in the British Religion in Numbers database[2] or a variety of academic journals of religious research emphasizing quantitative methods,[3] confirms Wallace's (2007, 78) observation that Buddhism[4] is under-represented in quantitative research compared to Christianity and Islam. The lack may be caused simply by Buddhist scholars being unfamiliar with this methodology of research or it may involve some resistance on behalf of Buddhists themselves. Since study of Buddhism, no less than for research on other subjects (Kelly, 2006), should be defined to a significant degree through critical discourse between researchers and the community of its practitioners, the apparent differences of opinion concerning methodologies are important to reconcile before presenting the quantitative study of Buddhist identity contained in this dissertation. This chapter starts by justifying why quantitative methods have been chosen to explore the nature of Buddhist religiosity – defending the theoretical assumptions underlying these methods in a way that hopefully reassures practitioners of Buddhism that potential findings in no way detract from the emancipatory benefits of the research. The chapter continues by presenting the methodology used in this dissertation to study identity in Buddhist teenagers.

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[1] parts of this justification of methodology have been published previously by the present author (Thanissaro, 2012b)
[2] www.brin.ac.uk
[3] At the time of publication, a selection of such journals would include *Archiv für Religionspsychologie, Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion, Pastoral Psychology, Journal of Empirical Theology* and *Review of Religious Research*
[4] Also Judaism, Sikhism and Hinduism

The contribution this chapter makes to knowledge, apart from bridging the aforementioned methodological gap, is to help to bring Buddhism into dialogue with the psychologies of religion and individual differences.

Reconciling Buddhist Studies with Quantitative Methodologies

Some Key Terms

The key term to define when justifying the use of quantitative data in measuring Buddhist religiosity is 'validity' which means the extent to which an instrument measures or correlates with the theorized scientific construct it purports to measure (Pennington, 2003, 37) – in this study, the relevant construct is Buddhist religiosity, or religiosity *unique* to Buddhists. Validity can be divided into several components – four of which are of direct relevance here. *Construct* validity is concerned with examining how the operational form of the construct works in the light of theory. *Face* validity is what an instrument superficially appears to measure – often what 'seems valid' to the investigator – but should be tested against the views of a panel of experts or a representative sample of the respondents or target audience. This aspect of validity is often a good starting point for research, but for social science, on its own, it is not a secure predictor of validity. *Content* validity is the extent to which a measure represents *all* facets of a social construct. *Discriminant* validity [or in some places 'divergent' validity (Cooper, 2002, 60)] is the degree to which an operation is not similar to other operations it theoretically should *not* be similar to.

Triangulation, from the point of view of scientific research, has been described as 'an attempt to map out or explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behaviour by studying it from more than one standpoint' (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, 141). Four types of triangulation can help make scientific measurement more trustworthy (Denzin, 1978): namely, data triangulation (mixing of data types); investigator triangulation (interresearcher reliability); theory triangulation (a dataset can be triangulated against itself [without being a tautology] e.g. positioning theory versus deductive approach); and methodological triangulation (multimethod research). In this piece of research, triangulation has been ensured through methodological means – namely through the hermeneutic cycle between quantitative and qualitative methodologies in relation to the experimental subject matter, in keeping with Cohen et al.'s (2007) advice that methodological triangulation usually implies use of *both* quantitative and qualitative data. Ideally, the data from the qualitative research should feed into the survey instrument used for the quantitative research, generating data, which, in turn, provide further detail on, and refer back to, data from the qualitative research in a hermeneutic cycle of enquiry. In 'top-down' research, the cycle starts with a researcher's *a priori* framework, often with predetermined categories to be tested experimentally. If the hermeneutic cycle of study starts from the premise of an entirely participant-generated agenda, such triangulation can be said to be based in 'grounded theory' (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). In 'bottom-up' research, especially grounded theory, categories emerge through examination of the data.

The term 'hermeneutic cycle' usually implies moving back and forth between individual and group in anthropology or between the specific and the general in textual analysis – but in this study the term is taken to mean the process of methodological triangulation between alternative application of quantitative and qualitative interrogation of data. In practice, it is rare to find research entirely divorced from some sort of *a priori* researcher-imposed conceptual framework – and realistically a final text can be regarded as '*negotiated*' between researcher and participant viewpoints (Clifford, 1997, 210).

There are many different approaches to psychology, but given that the study of psychology can focus on the respects in which a person is like *all* other people, like *some* other people or like *no* other people (Kluckhohn, Murray, & Schneider, 1953, 53), the individual differences approach to psychology locates itself within 'differential psychology' i.e. the ways in which a person is like 'some other people'. It is an approach that remains mindful of the important variation between individuals that can be masked by averaging and is based on an assumption that human behaviour is not entirely random but has discernable patterns to it and that deeper and more covert organizing factors can be accessed and measured by appropriately devised psychometric instruments (Francis, 2009a, 127-8). The approach is more widely known for aptitude psychometrics and predicting differences and similarities in human thought, emotionality and behaviour (Chamorro-Premuzic, 2007, 2).

Finally, from the point of view of operational definitions of religious affiliation, respondents are labelled 'Buddhist' because given the chance to self-identify their

religious affiliation, all chose Buddhist affiliations. Although such labling is potentially vulnerable to nominalism, psychologists of religion continue to consider self-assigned affiliation a significant dimension of religiosity (Fane, 1999) – although not necessarily a secure predictor for other dimensions of religiosity, such as belief or practice.

What scientific research has become in the early years of the 21st Century

The nature of scientific enquiry has changed under the influence of post-positivism and the resulting balance between the paradigms of empiricism and interpretivism has resulted in that of critical realism. Far from its former monolithic status (Garrison, 1986), scientific enquiry at the beginning of the 21st Century is considered provisional and no longer encourages a culture of science that accepts certainty (Erickson & Gutierrez, 2002, 22; Hartas, 2010, 23). Social sciences, often provide data that is no more than a *snapshot* with a generalizability that has a short 'half-life' – perhaps lasting only until a new experimental paradigm comes along (Berliner, 2002, 20). It is tempting to believe that pieces of research will tie up loose ends but this is not always the case – where respect for ethical correctness toward participants might be more important than experimental results. To give an example, sometimes where consent from schools concerning access to participants is not sufficiently forthcoming, this might have an important adverse effect on the sample size (Kay & Smith, 2001). Sometimes work is deemed preliminary because it is exploratory. The word 'preliminary' does less to detract from the worth of research than highlight

a subject area for the attention of more detailed future research. Where research in education has been criticized it is not because it has been small in scale, but because it has been partisan, methodologically problematic, non-empirical or lacking in relevance or impact (so-called 'blue skies' research)(Tooley & Darby, 1998). Furthermore, scientific rigour might demand that the object of research be mapped both by a process of confirmation *and* elimination, since the deductive processes of science are often most powerful when employing a process of *elimination* to explore possibilities – leaving no conceptual stone unturned until due effort had been made to disprove a hypothesis. Science tends to progress through research that falsifies rather than confirms theories (Popper, 1963). Hence, trying to find what is unique to Buddhists by comparing the values shared with a non-Buddhist population (a process of elimination) would be considered an essential part of due diligence in ascertaining construct validity – since identity boundaries between religions are expected to be fuzzy and to some extent permeable. With an indication of what makes values *less exclusively* Buddhist (i.e. by taking a selection of values that at face value relate to Buddhism and identifying which are also popular with non-Buddhists), it might become easier to pin down, by elimination, what makes values *particular* to Buddhists. Lastly, it is worth pointing out that to fit concepts to a scientific framework is not the *only* important criterion for academic endeavour, since theory formation outside the scientific framework can also be considered valuable if it can be shown to be comprehensive, parsimonious or of applied value (Pennington, 2003, 15).

Known benefits of quantitative research methodologies

Nonetheless, there are known advantages to making studies quantifiable where possible. Employing quantitative methodologies for research on Buddhism has several advantages which include obtaining results that are repeatable, generalizable, accommodate both objective and subjective data, go beyond face validity and minimize effects of observer bias.

Experiments involving quantitative methods are more amenable to repetition than qualitative investigations. Since characteristics of participants such as sex, ethnicity, age or religious affiliation can be quantified, the experiment can be repeated on another sample with the same characteristics and a similar result would be expected. Successive waves of research can validly build upon one another. The ability to control for personal characteristics in this way is not available in qualitative research where each study may represent a unique instance of social behaviour.

Quantitative methodologies facilitate generalization from results. Given an adequate and representative sample size[5] results can be extrapolated from the experimental sample to a larger population possessing the same personal characteristics.

Quantitative data is not necessarily synonymous with objective measurement – in fact it can sometimes imply the opposite – generating figures from subjective data. In the case of domestic heating, for example, 'heat comfort' could be quantified instead of 'temperature' in applications where it is how warm people *feel* that matters

[5] For the purpose of most significance testing a sample of more than one hundred participants would be preferable.

rather than the temperature *per se* (as would be important for other applications such as storage of foodstuffs or seeds). Quantitative measure can reveal counter-intuitive experimental effects and allow latent or subconscious processes to be deduced from manifest measurable qualities. Such measures can be useful in cases where participants themselves are not self-aware concerning the underlying processes in the mind that affect their decisions; by quantitative analysis, factors can be teased out in a way that goes beyond face validity. Quantitative methods are thus a useful research tool in personality psychology where reliance on self-report (the phenomenological approach) is notoriously unreliable (Cooper, 2002, 7-8).

In triangulation with qualitative data, quantitative data may help to overcome constrictive worldviews of observers locked into outsider paradigms with reference to Buddhism (Choompolpaisal, 2008) or blinkered views as insiders. Worries about observer bias common in ethnological techniques (Clifford & Marcus, 1986) are less of an issue in a mixed-methods design such as that of the present research study. In the matter of scale construction, the benefits of involving one or more insiders at the design stage is likely to outweigh any possible disadvantages due to observer bias (Thanissaro, 2010d, 72). Being an insider to Buddhism, rather than causing objectivity to be lost, should help overcome many of the possible limitations non-Buddhist researchers face when trying to 'bracket out' non-Buddhist presuppositions. Since the usual way to bracket out assumptions is to engage with the participants by means of edification and empathy, an insider would be better qualified to do this – by entering the authentic mindset of a Buddhist (Smart, 1987,

4). If the present research had been based on more qualitative, reflexive data, the 'partial, selective and personal' nature of observations (Brewer, 2000, 44-45) might deserve the concern about objectivity voiced by Pracharart (2004, 33) in a similar capacity, when undertaking recent participant observation in UK Buddhist temples – but the beauty of quantitative surveys is that experimenter influence can be minimized by delegating the administration of surveys to a helper.

Known Shortcomings of quantitative research methodologies

Despite the aforementioned strengths of quantitative methodologies, reliance *solely* on quantitative methodologies may have weaknesses which researchers need to take into account. Possible shortcomings of quantitative research methodologies (for young people in Buddhism) may include the following: glossing over sectarian differences, being insufficiently nuanced to understand young people, being limited to correlations rather than elucidating causes and effects, lack of perspective on long-term processes such as nurture or development, the temptation to unreasonable extrapolation (reification) and anomalies where respondents *consistently* misunderstand survey questions. After expanding on each of these possible criticisms, I will go on to mention how, in this study, I have attempted to minimize the shortcomings.

There is the danger of being tied into a particular sectarian standpoint within Buddhism which may not be apparent to outsiders. There is sometimes a sectarian temptation to sneak a 'favourable' answer into the question or skew representativeness of sampling. Although randomized samples have never been available to me in the true sense of clinical trials, conscious that as a particular sort of insider, I might be influenced by my own denominational allegiances, I have intentionally included a *variety* of denominations and challenged the accuracy my findings using multiple hermeneutic cycles. At the distal end of the data processing there may also be weaknesses in the interpretation where particular answers are sought to fit with a theoretical framework fixed *a priori* by the researcher – so-called 'cherry picking' or 'data dredging'. Hopefully from my explanation of how the hermeneutic process has been governed by mixed-methods triangulation, it will be evident how observer interpretation has been minimized and that construction of the survey has been neither arbitrary, manipulated nor based on anecdotal materials.

With young people, the exclusive use of quantitative research methods is thought potentially misleading as many of their distinguishing characteristics are subtle and nuanced (Andolina et al., 2002). The critical realism paradigm of research and enquiry to which this study belongs is one of the main defenders of the idea that social enquiry *can* be scientific (Kemp & Holmwood, 2003, 165). In researching young people, I have made a consistent effort to draw on the strengths of *both* quantitative and qualitative methodologies as recommended by that paradigm.

Another limitation of much quantitative research is that it relies on correlation. Although it can detect if phenomena are linked statistically, the direction of causality cannot be ascertained without some sort of experimental intervention. Also it should be conceded that, of the seven aspects concluded by Ninian Smart (1992),[6] only four aspects of religiosity have proven amenable to quantitative measure within individual differences psychology – namely, affiliation, belief, attitude and practice – and even these have only proved measurable by giving them *operational* definitions (Hood, Hill & Spilka, 2009, 11-12). Furthermore, quantitative methodologies provide snapshots of social phenomena, but may lack perspective on the longer term processes at work. In this dissertation I have consequently been limited in the claims I have been able to make about development or nurture.

Anomalies may also arise in the conceptualization of religiosity if quantitative results are extrapolated or generalized beyond the populations in which they have been conceived. In recognition of this danger, for the measurement of attitude toward Christianity, Francis (1978) describes how he performed 'due diligence' in the initial survey design in shortlisting from 110 possible questions down to 24. The original questions appear to have been constructed by identifying the most important objects of faith for each religion (presumably chosen by affiliates of that religion) which were then used to construct statements or their reverse-coded equivalents – for Christianity, this formula yielded positive and negative statements on – God, Jesus, the Church, the Bible, prayer. This worked well for Christianity because statements

[6] Doctrine, Mythology, Ethics, Ritual, Experience, Institution, Material

were shortlisted by an *insider* starting with many Christian-generated questions and using statistical methods to *shortlist* down to the most powerful questions in terms of reliability.[7] Generally, analysis of reliability will select for questions that are clear and unambiguous, by drawing on multiple measures per object of enquiry and by being able to move towards a clearly defined construct for each scale – but this vouches only for the technical *consistency* of questions without guaranteeing that the questions have identified *valid* aspects of religiosity.[8] When measuring attitude toward religion, it is debatable how far it is acceptable to extrapolate results. When extrapolating measures of religiosity using a common scale across different Christian denominations, few anomalies would be expected. However, when extrapolating between Christianity and Hinduism, the anomalies might be *more* apparent since the accuracy with which Hinduism can be conceptualized is reduced, if forced into a monotheistic framework (Delmonico, 2004, 32). Jackson and Nesbitt (1993) have demonstrated the complications inherent in generalizing even *within* the Hindu religious tradition. As it is not clear whether the Francis-Santosh Scale of Attitude toward Hinduism (Francis et al., 2008) was designed by a process of shortlisting from many grounded questions,[9] it is possible that considerable intra-religious diversity[10] may have been overlooked – hence, any unidimensionality

[7] Although some limitations may be experienced when the scale is applied to certain denominations of Christianity outside the 'mainstream', pers. comm. (Francis, 2011)
[8] Phrenology is a historical example where this distinction was particularly pertinent.
[9] It appears that the Hindu scale was constructed by effecting a transposition of the terms for objects of faith from the Christian scale simply by substituting the word 'God' for 'God' [not allowing for Hindu views that span a wide range of theistic beliefs], 'Hindu rituals' for 'Church service' and 'Hindu scriptures' for 'the Bible'.
[10] Hindu beliefs may typically be diverse as monotheism, polytheism, panentheism, pantheism, monism, atheism and agnosticism (Chakravarti, 1991, 71; Rogers, 2009, 109).

assumed in the dataset might be an external imposition. Although what is measured may be internally consistent (i.e. reliable) this is no guarantee that the content *validly* reflects Hindu religiosity. It may, for example, be measuring a 'monotheist tendency' in Hindus that might correlate statistically with other aspects of their practice. For Buddhism the effect is likely to be yet more pronounced as the theistic element is to a greater extent missing. In short, reified views of religion, especially Buddhism, may result from the assumption, even for measurement of attitude toward religion, that religions share a common structure. For this reason, rather than extrapolating scales of attitude from other religions, I have *consistently* gone back to grounded qualitative data Buddhists themselves have generated when devising survey questions.

Lastly, there is the problem of respondents understanding survey questions differently than the researchers have anticipated. If a question is worded so that it is consistently misunderstood by young participants (for example, a researcher might understand the word 'wicked' in a different way from a young person) such a question might not fail in terms of reliability, but it would lead to invalid conclusions being drawn from data. By contrast, if a badly worded question creates confusion amongst the participants, the question will merely increase random error. In my research, the questions were piloted on a small number of respondents of the same age-group by focus groups (e.g. Thanissaro, 2013b) before the start of the survey, to minimize any effects of Buddhist jargon, to estimate time for completion and to make sure

wording was unambiguous (which means that the participants claimed to have understood all the questions – even terms such as 'Nirvana' and 'Eightfold Path').

Resistance to quantitative methods in Buddhist research

In spite of precautions taken to avoid anomalies in quantitative methodologies, there are still several objections Buddhists seem to raise against studying Buddhism quantitatively.[11] At the time of writing, the field of Buddhist studies has been largely dependent on non-empirical arguments and where supported empirically, have drawn largely on qualitative methodologies such as case studies, ethnology and interviews. Claims are often accepted without challenge, even when empirical evidence for them is lacking. Where quantitative data has been employed, it has often been based on relatively small sample sizes. When sweeping statements are made such as 'if you cannot accept four things,[12] you cannot be a Buddhist' (Khyentse, 2007, 4) or that Buddhism in Thailand is more 'feminine' than that of Japan (Hofstede, 2001, 327) there is little to assure subsequent researchers (or the researched) that conclusions are based on anything more than anecdotal evidence. Analytic psychology, for example, *has* been criticised for lack of scientific rigour in its analysis of Buddhism (Yogo, 2001), but these criticisms could equally well have been directed at other purely qualitative studies of the religion. In order to be scientifically acceptable (rather than metaphysics) a hypothesis un-verified by

[11] Perhaps reflecting King Pâyâsi's comeuppance in the early Buddhist scriptures (D.ii.316f.), in his efforts to refute Buddhist metaphysics empirically.

[12] All things are impermanent; all emotions bring pain and suffering; all phenomena are empty and illusory, and; enlightenment is above all concepts and a release from delusion.

external senses (non-empirical) must at least be *potentially* falsifiable (the logical positivist requirement of 'verifiability theory of meaning') and it should help to form null-hypotheses from which statements can be deduced about future experiences (Carnap, 1966).

The reduced dependence on *interpretation* implied by the use of quantitative data worries some, especially if it seems likely that the locus of expertise concerning Buddhism might be taken away from Buddhists and given to statisticians. Since the 1960s the emancipatory research paradigm based on the work of Habermas, Frieire and Marcuse, researchers have come to a consensus that research ought to be of benefit to the participants (Banks, 2006), it is also important for me to demonstrate how the use of quantitative data continues to be of benefit to Buddhists themselves. For Buddhists, no less than for those of other religions, the spectre of vulgar positivism in Science (real or imagined) threatens to reduce the mystery of faith to (mere) figures or (perhaps more unpopularly) to a (someone else's) particular set of criteria. Psychologists of religions who have been measuring aspects of religiosity from non-Buddhist religions since the early 1960s (Glock, 1962) with no 'vested' or detailed interest in Buddhist diversity have tended *not* to share the qualms of religious participants in their research. The quantification of religiosity especially through the application of individual differences psychology has, however, produced many arguably positive benefits in its application – especially in modelling the effect of different orientations of religiosity and different styles of religious coping toward mental health (Maltby, Day & Macaskill, 2010, 575-6). Previous quantitative

research on Buddhists in Britain (e.g. Thanissaro, 2010c) can also be considered emancipatory since it is helping give voice to the values of a marginalized group in British society (although it could be argued that the same emancipation might have been achieved by research employing qualitative methodology). Thus, it would be more reasonable to consider the aims, purpose and use of research when judging its potential benefit to the participants than to object to one broad method as opposed to another on the grounds of benefit to participants. Nonetheless, the application of quantitative methods to Buddhist religiosity demands fuller apologetics than would perhaps be required by the more critical of psychologists of religion.

Quantification is not a complete stranger to Buddhist research, however. There is a growing literature of studies which have quantified aspects of Buddhist practice – often in the applied sciences. Buddhist religiosity has been sufficiently quantifiable to be factored into research concerning psychiatry (Scotton, 1998), alcohol abuse (Assanangkornchai, Conigrave & Saunders, 2002), moral training (Pupatana, 2000), psychosocial change (Thananart, Tori & Emavardhana, 2000), psychoanalytic defence mechanisms (Tori & Bilmes, 2002), psychological therapy (de Silva, 1996) and learning English as a foreign language (Adamson, 2003) – despite there never having been a specific study to map out Buddhist religiosity in a way that allows it to be compared with that of other religions.

Within Buddhist Studies, at the more qualitative end of the quantitative-qualitative research continuum, there are scholars hesitant to settle for a particular translation of an academic text in case it threatens to reduce future possibilities for breadth of

interpretation (Hubbard & Swanson, 1997). At the other end of the continuum are the more positivist proponents of the Kâlâma Sutta who might reject any conclusion not based on irrefutable evidence. In between come the latest social scientific paradigms and pragmatic theorists of scriptural exegesis. The philosophy of Hui-Neng[13] and some Tibetan logic is no less social constructivist than the writing of George Berkeley.

In conclusion, I see no reason why Buddhism should lock itself into a particular methodology for its study. Buddhist Studies as it currently stands, incorporates a huge range of epistemologies – which should be no surprise, since where methodologies are to acknowledge change and complexity, multiple perspectives and discourses are required (Hartas, 2010, 50-51). The essentialisms often inherent in the study of comparative religion were moderated by Wilfred Cantwell Smith who advocated avoiding the projection of terms onto other peoples' views of life – saying "No interpretation of Buddhist doctrine is valid unless Buddhists can respond 'Yes! That is what we hold'" (1981, 97). Nonetheless, there is huge potential for anomalies if structures from *believing* religions are projected onto traditions that like Buddhism '*do*' rather than 'believe' – where ortho*praxy* takes priority over ortho*doxy*. Instead of assuming similarities and differences, research should be framed through debates about quality within different sub-communities and encouragement of open discussion across epistemological and methodological boundaries (Furlong, 2004, 343). Thus, rather than assuming there to be something

[13] A flag said to flap in the breeze not because of the movement of the flag or the breeze but because of movement in the mind of the perceiver.

particularly *un*-Buddhist about representing personal qualities by numbers it is more likely that the new landscape of Buddhist studies (Crosby, 2008) has simply not yet extended this far – and my recommendation would be that Buddhist studies could beneficially extend the scope of its research in the direction of quantitative methodologies.

Part 2: Experimental Methodology

Design

The research methodology for this study was designed in keeping with the objective to investigate for contemporary adolescents in Britain, measurement of attitude toward Buddhism and other secular and religious values areas.

Data capture of attitude toward Buddhism was designed to investigate the intellectual aspects previously researched by Smith and Kay (2000) – but also the more *affective* aspects of Buddhism derived from more recent ethnographic studies such as generosity, welfare, honouring those worthy of respect, belief in the Law of Karma, belief in an afterlife, enlightenment, alcohol, killing animals and a child's debt of gratitude to parents – the last three issues having been tested in detail (at Thanissaro, 2010c) to give a nuanced stance that might be particular to Buddhists, since there is evidence to suggest that aspects of Buddhism such as belief in meditation, other realms, rebirth and interconnectedness enjoy popularity even with those who would not consider themselves Buddhist (Cush, 1996, 205).

Sample

The survey was completed by a convenience sample of 417 teen Buddhists – consisting of 225 male (54%) and 192 females (46%) aged between 13 and 20 (*M*=16.33, SD=2.34) attending temples in England or displaying an interest in Buddhist keywords[14] on their Facebook page. The ethnicities of the young Buddhists were Asian (52%), White (34%), Mixed Ethnicity (11%) Chinese (2%) and Black (1%). In terms of the temple institutions they attended, to give some idea of the Buddhist denomination, the sample could be said to be Sinhalese (23%), Thai (16%), Tibetan (12%), Burmese (11%), Vietnamese (9%), Japanese (5%), Bangladeshi (3%), Western (2%), Chinese (2%), Nepalese (2%) and Cambodian (1%). Participation was by informed consent in writing – either by the participant themselves or their guardian if under the age of 16. Selection was a convenience sample of teenagers attending temple activities. For the online sampling, relevant Facebook interest groups were targeted.

Instrument

In keeping with the experimental design outlined above, a survey was designed which comprised 337 questions (*see Appendix H*) in five main sections:

[14]The keywords included the words: arhat (Buddhism), Buddhism, Buddhism Theravada, Buddhist, Buddhist meditation, Burmese Buddhist temple, Dhammakaya meditation, Dhammakaya movement, Foundation for the Preservation of the Mahayana Tradition, FWBO, Gautama Buddha, interbeing, Karma Kagyu, Mahayana, merit (Buddhism), New Kadampa Tradition, Order of Interbeing, Samatha, Soka Gakkai International SGI, Theravada, Theravada Buddhism, Theravada Buddhist, Tibetan Buddhism, Triratna Buddhist Community, Vietnamese Family of Buddhism, Vipassana, Vipassana meditation, Zen, Thich Nhat Hanh, Buddhism in Bangladesh, Buddhahood, Diamond Way Buddhism, Buddha's Dharma, Pure Land Buddhism, Buddha's Light International Association.

1. Part one contained 28 multiple choice questions dealing with details of sex, religious denomination, religious experience and degree of religious practice adapted from Francis's (2001) adolescent values inventory.
2. Part two contained 161 Likert five-point scale (strongly agree, agree, not certain, disagree, disagree strongly) questions pertaining to Thanissaro's (2011a) 24-item scale of attitude to Buddhism - based partially on Kay and Smith (2002) and partially on less intellectual aspects that emerged as important to Buddhist families in ethnographic research (Thanissaro, 2011b). Two reverse-coded statements were included in this instrument, namely, "If a person does good deeds, bad things will come back to them" and "I would enjoy killing any sort of animal" as a strategy to guard against inclusion of results from participants who had mechanically ticked the same column throughout regardless of their true attitudes. Also included were Values Mapping items from 14 values areas (11 secular and 3 religious) selected from a consensus of previous Youth Values Surveys: Personal Wellbeing, Personal Worries, Peer Groups/Friends, Parents and Family, School and Education, Right and Wrong/Moral and Legal, Substance Use, Media and Technology, Work and Employment, Social Concern, Stereotyping and Discrimination, Religious Convictions, Church and Society and the Supernatural; Values mapping items for issues raised by young people as important to their Buddhist practice (Loundon, 2001, 2006) on issues such as becoming a monk or nun, being a 'proper' Buddhist, needing a spiritual

teacher, mixing practices from different Buddhist traditions, their connections with Asia, going beyond meditation in their practice, association with other Buddhist and same-sex peers, caring for parents in old age and their sense of individuality; WVS items on derived from (derived from Inglehart & Welzel, 2005, 51) God is very important in my life - It is important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith - It is important for a child to learn to be independent and self-determined - Abortion is never justifiable - I have a strong sense of national pride - I respect those who are in authority - I would not describe myself as happy - Homosexuality is never justifiable - I would never sign a petition - You have to be very careful about trusting people; Individualist vs. collectivist values [*see full definitions on p.127*](derived from Singelis et al., 1995) in the horizontal and vertical dimensions: I would do what pleases my family, even if I detested that activity (V-C) - I am a unique individual (H-I) - It annoys me when other people perform better than I do (V-I) - The wellbeing of my fellow students/workers is important to me (H-C)

3. Part three contained the 21 questions of the Francis-Louden Mystical Orientation Scale [MOS-R](Francis, 2000a).
4. Part four contained the 25 questions of the Coopersmith Self-esteem Inventory (derived from Coopersmith, 1981) as a measure of self-esteem - scored according to the instructions given by Hill (2007, 34) to obtain a score out of 100.

5. Part five contained the 50 pairs of questions from the Francis Psychological Type Scales (Francis, 2005a).

In the design stage, the survey questions were piloted satisfactorily in small focus groups of Buddhist participants of the target age range to make sure wording was unambiguous and not too technical for all the relevant ages of participants. In the final version, similarly-worded attitude questions were shuffled within sections.

Procedure

Some gatekeeper monks or temple officials volunteered their efforts to assist in organizing the distribution and collection of surveys on the researcher's behalf. For most temples, however, the researcher had to visit in person and was given the permission of the resident monk or official to present the research project at Buddhist youth events and distribute the surveys with the temple's blessing. The surveys were completed in the participants' own time in the period 2013-14. For those unable to complete the survey immediately, a stamped addressed envelope was provided to facilitate return. For the online version, a Qualtrics online survey was (kindly) hosted on the St Mary's RE Centre website. Teenagers were directed to this survey by clicking on pay-per-click advertising banners appearing in the right-hand column of their Facebook page if they corresponded with a Buddhist interest group. Online participants were located in the UK and fell within the 13-20 age-range.

In keeping with constraints of ethical approval (*see Appendix H*) surveys were submitted anonymously to protect participants from having their views traced back to them.

Analysis

If upon scrutiny, completed surveys showed inconsistent responses to reverse-coded items or had sections that evidenced mechanical ticking (marking all the same column or zig-zagging without reading questions) the suspect parts were removed from the database. Surveys for which only some questions had been answered (but where the participants had obviously read the questions) were included in the dataset for the questions that *had* been completed. The resulting dataset was analyzed by means of the Chi-square cross-tabulation routines of the SPSS statistical package (SPSS Inc., 1988) for categorical variable data such as levels of attitude question agreement or the independent samples *t*-test routine for continuous variable data such as TSAB or ScAttRE-s scores.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have justified my application of quantitative methods to the study of Buddhist identity and outlined the methodology - design and fielding of the survey instrument - the findings from which are presented in the following seven chapters of this dissertation, starting with emotional well-being.

Chapter 8

Findings - Emotional Well-being

Tishi, a 16-year-old Srilankan Buddhist girl -

"The words coming out of your parents' mouth where they say 'I am proud of you' ... is like ... winning a thousand pounds on the lottery."

explaining about the importance of praise from significant others (Thanissaro, 2014b, 737)

Introduction

This chapter presents empirical findings on the emotional well-being of Buddhist teens by concentrating on two aspects – well-being and worries. Originally this findings chapter was to deal with 'quality of life', but on examination of how this concept is operationalized, a full-blown assessment would need to take account of five main aspects of quality of life which include physical well-being, material well-being, social well-being, development and activity and emotional well-being (Felce & Perry, 1995, 61). Since the survey deployed dealt almost entirely with subjective data generated by the attitudes of respondents, a more accurate title for this chapter would be the 'emotional well-being' of Buddhist teens since in the Felce and Perry model, this should include positive affect, status/respect, satisfaction, fulfilment and faith/belief – aspects of attitudes this chapter is able to sample succinctly through eleven questions on well-being and worries.

The term 'well-being' is used in social psychology as a way of describing an individual's overall response to life – a high level of well-being means a young person has adjusted well to life. Meaningfulness is also recognized as a necessary condition of a life of well-being (White, 2009, 423-4). The term 'self concept' is used to refer to the way a person attempts to present themselves to others (Francis, 1984, 118). Indicators of self-concept include that of self-esteem, purpose in life (Crumbaugh,

1968; Crumbaugh & Maholick, 1969), general satisfaction in life (Diener et al., 1985), freedom from depression [whether benign (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1975) or more serious (Beck et al., 1961)] and freedom from suicidal ideation (Goldney et al., 1989; Hawton et al., 2002; Metha & McWhirter, 1997). In previous surveys, one-eighth of young people considered themselves lacking in self-esteem – simply stated, that they were not 'worth much' as a person. Over half (56%) considered they had purpose in life. Seven-tenths of young people felt life was worth living. Half of young people often felt depressed. Over a quarter of young people (27%) had considered taking their own lives (Francis, 2001c, 26-28).

Another aspect of emotional well-being is to be relatively free of worries and concerns. Young people are characterised as having high levels of anxiety (Lewis, 1996) although panic attacks appeared rare and had an incidence that diminished with age (Francis, 1984, 117). Studies found young people had sex-related worries especially about HIV (Barling & Moore, 1990; Zimet et al., 1992), their sex-life (Heaven, 1996; Sarrel & Sarrel, 1981), personal relationships, attractiveness to the opposite sex (Francis, 2001c, 29), personal safety (Francis, 1999) and rivalry. Their own mortality and that of close relatives was also rated highly amongst young peoples' fears. Concerns among young people correlated with low self-esteem – being the cause of self-destructive behaviours such as over- or under-eating, self-harm or suicide ideation (Halsall, 2004, 408). Over three-fifths of young people

were worried about contracting HIV although over half (58%) claimed to have no worries about their sex life. Over half of young people worried about their relationships with others, although the majority (42%) did not worry about their attractiveness to the opposite sex. One in three were worried about personal safety when going out alone at night but less than a fifth were afraid of the threat towards their personal safety from clashes with rival schools (Francis, 2001c, 28-30).

Part 1: Well-being

Overview

The assessment of Buddhist teen well-being in this study is based upon whether expressions of depression and purpose in life are generally positive or negative. The assessment also examines whether Buddhist teen behaviour may be affected by low levels of well-being. Attitudes to well-being were assessed in terms of five questions. The first question assessed Buddhist teen sense of purpose in life, indicated by Crumbaugh and Maholick (1969) and Francis (2001c, 27) to provide a key to motivation and meaning-making. The second question asked whether Buddhist teens found life worth living. A third question assessed the levels of anxiety felt through examining how much as a person Buddhist teens felt worth. A fourth question enquired whether Buddhist teens often felt depressed. Alongside these questions to give an indication of whether the Buddhist teen sense of well-being was positive or negative, the study also included a question examining Buddhist

teen consideration of a practical expressions of low levels of well-being – namely, whether they had considered taking their own life. This section presents an overview of Buddhist teen levels of well-being, followed by an examination of these according to their religious affiliation, sex, age, socio-economic group and religious style, as factors of potential statistical significance.

Table 8.1 Overview of Buddhist teen values concerning well-being

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
I feel my life has a sense of purpose	60	35	5
I find life really worth living	67	30	4
I feel I am not worth much as a person	13	32	55
I often feel depressed	28	36	35
I have sometimes considered taking my own life	29	28	43

Table 8.1 presents an overview of Buddhist teen values regarding their well-being. The Buddhist teens were reasonably positive in their expressions of well-being, although there remained substantial proportions expressing uncertainty. For example, three-fifths (60%) agreed that their life had a sense of purpose, yet over a third (35%) were not certain whether they felt their life had a sense of purpose, with only 5% saying their life lacked a sense of purpose. Furthermore, over two-thirds (67%) found their life really worthy living, with three-tenths (30%) uncertain about this and only 4% failing to find their life worth living. On the contrary, less than a sixth (13%) thought they were not worth much as a person, with less than a third uncertain (32%) and over half (55%) denying that they were not worth much as a person. Moreover, while over a third of Buddhist teens (35%) disagreed that they felt depressed, there remained a slightly smaller proportion who agreed that they often feel depressed (28%) or who were not certain how they felt in this respect

(36%). Over two-fifths of Buddhist teens (43%) disagreed that they had considered taking their own life, with just over a quarter (28%) uncertain about this and nearly three-tenths (29%) who agreed they had sometimes considered taking their own life. This last set of figures might not be as worrying as it seems, since in previous research, Buddhist teens' thoughts about their own death, far from being self-destructive, gave them an urgency to live and reminded them of their unfinished responsibilities (Thanissaro, 2014b, 737-8).

Religious Affiliation

For all of the value preferences to be examined in this dissertation, it is only valid to conclude that patterns reflect Buddhist identity if a significant difference in preference can be shown between Buddhist and non-Buddhist participants, or at least between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated participants.

Table 8.2: Comparison of values concerning well-being between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	$p<$
I feel my life has a sense of purpose	66	55	7.8	.01
I often feel depressed	28	52	36.4	.001

**from Francis (2001c, 27) Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at A1, Appendix A.*

Table 8.2 shows a comparison between the values of the 13- to 15-year-old subset of the Buddhist teenagers (*N*=166, referred to hereafter as 'Buddhist adolescents') compared to the values on the same questions asked by Francis (2001, 27) of a 33,982-strong sample of 13- to 15-year-old religiously-undifferentiated adolescents

(hereafter abbreviated to 'RUA'). Only two of the five well-being questions showed statistically significant differences between Buddhist adolescents and RUA.

Buddhists were more likely to say they thought their life had a sense of purpose with two-thirds (66%) agreement (as compared with little over half [55%] for RUA). As an indicator of the sort of things that may have given the Buddhist adolescents their heightened sense of purpose in life, previous research pointed to accomplishing their dreams and goals, helping others to become better, recognition by significant others (Thanissaro, 2014b, 737), attaining heaven or *dhammakâya* (an enlightenment experience in meditation), becoming a better person and managing to repay their debt of gratitude to their mother (Thanissaro, 2013b, 11), attaining Nirvana or freedom from suffering (Thanissaro, 2014b, 738).

Buddhists were also significantly less inclined to say they felt depressed with less than three-tenths saying they were often depressed (28% as compared with over half [52%] of RUA). In this respect, previous research indicated special strategies Buddhists employed to overcome depression as Buddhists tended to think resolution of depression came by adjusting their *perspective* on the problem rather than by tackling the problem itself. Perspectives could be ameliorated merely by having another person cheer them up or help them regain sight of their true goal — even if this was a transcendental one (Thanissaro, 2014b, 737-738).

Sex Differences

Table 8.3: Comparison of values concerning well-being between male and female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	p<
I often feel depressed	24	34	4.9	.05
I have sometimes considered taking my own life	24	34	5.0	.05

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at A2, Appendix A.

A comparison of sex-differences in Buddhist teen values regarding their well-being is presented in Table 8.3. Sex was a factor of significance for Buddhist teen values for two of the five well-being questions. Female teen Buddhists expressed significantly lower degrees of well-being than their male peers. Females were more inclined to agree they often felt depressed (34% as opposed to 24% for males) and were more likely to claim they had sometimes considered taking their own life (34% as opposed to 24% for males).

Age Differences

There were no significant age-differences in responses to well-being questions between Buddhists in their early teens and in their late teens (*See Table A3, Appendix A for full table*).

Socio-economic group

Buddhist teen values concerning well-being were compared according to socio-economic group. Although Socio-economic Classification (hereafter abbreviated to SEC) has in recent years been revised, for this study SEC was styled into three groups following the methodology of Anna Halsall (2004, 193-4) – with the objective of allowing a valid comparison to be made. A summary table of allocation of example occupations to five SECs is included as Table A4 in Appendix A. As shown in the

Socio-economic Group classification table, professionals were allocated to the managerial category; clerical, self-employed and technical occupations were allocated to the administrative category, and semi-routine/routine occupations were allocated to the elementary category. For the findings described below, where the father's occupation was stated as 'unknown' or 'retired', where possible the mother's occupation was used to determine SEC instead. Thus the *breadwinner*'s occupation is the dependent variable for this particular set of cross-tabulations giving a sample (*N*) of 337.

Table 8.4: Comparison of Buddhist teen values concerning well-being across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
I often feel depressed	21	28	40	7.1	.05

Full table at A5, Appendix A.

As shown in Table 8.4, for only one of the five well-being questions was there a statistically significant difference in the responses between the Buddhist teenagers of different socio-economic groups. Those with a breadwinner in a managerial occupation were significantly less likely to be depressed (21%) as compared with those with breadwinners in administrative occupations (28%) or elementary occupations (40%).

Religious style

For the purposes of trying to identify differences between the heritage and convert styles of Buddhist practice, I have cross-tabulated the responses to well-being statements in terms of religious style. Since the definition of heritage-style Buddhism is having a connection with Asian Buddhism through one's parents, I have allocated

Buddhists of Asian-Indian, Asian-Pakistani, Asian-Bangladeshi, Any Other Asian and Chinese ethnicity to the 'heritage' Buddhist teen category (hereafter abbreviated to 'HBT'). I have allocated Buddhists of White, Black-African and Black-Caribbean ethnicity to the 'convert' Buddhist teen category (hereafter abbreviated to 'CBT'). Since it is not clear for mixed-ethnicity to what extent ethnicity might be linked to Asian heritage, those of this ethnic category were omitted from the comparison. Thus the sample (*N*) for this part of the cross tabulation was 372 comprising 226 HBT (61%) and 146 CBT (39%). Since 13- to 16-year-old convert Buddhists were under-represented (an observation that is interesting in itself), to avoid confounding religious-style conclusions with age difference, for this and all subsequent religious-style sections, differences in attitude have been compared for the early teen age-group and late teen age-group separately and only where significant results remained for either or both early and late teen groups were results reported as significant for the teens as a whole - the figures in tables presented are those for the *whole* group.

Table 8.5: Comparison of values concerning well-being between heritage & convert Buddhists teens (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	$p<$
I feel my life has a sense of purpose	67	50	10.3	.01
I find life really worth living	73	53	13.5	.001
I have sometimes considered taking my own life	22	36	8.8	.01

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at A6, Appendix A.

As shown in Table 8.5, three of the five questions concerning well-being varied significantly according to the religious style of Buddhist teens – all indicating a higher level of well-being among HBT than CBT. HBT were more likely to say they

felt their life had a sense of purpose with two-thirds agreement (67%) as compared to agreement among only half of the CBT (50%). HBT were more likely to say they found life worth living with almost three-quarters agreeing (73%) as compared to agreement among little over half of the CBT (53%). HBT were *less* likely to say they had considered suicide with less than a quarter agreeing (22%) as compared to agreement among over a third of CBT (36%).

Conclusion

Being Buddhist corresponded with more sense of purpose in life and less likelihood of suicide ideation. Such invulnerability to suicidal ideation is commendable against a backdrop of contemporary young peoples' thinking where a high level of suicidal ideation has been shown as commonplace amongst peers (Francis, 2001c, 210). An understanding of the Buddhist view of well-being is especially important in the health services because there is a school of thought that says caregivers should use the client's own definition of well-being as the standard in health interventions (Diener & Suh, 2000) – and that facilitation of Buddhist well-being may mean much more than application of the currently fashionable mindfulness-based therapies (Thanissaro & Kulupana, 2015). Within the Buddhist sample, females had more of a tendency towards depression and suicide ideation – but this is to be expected because in the general population, female adolescents have been shown to express lower levels of well-being (Halsall, 2004, 290; Hinshaw, 2009, 4). Depression was found to be lower amongst those families with a breadwinner in a managerial occupation. Well-being

was found to be higher in HBT with a stronger degree of purpose in life and of life being worth living, and less inclination towards suicide ideation.

Having examined Buddhist teen values regarding their sense of well-being, the second value-area of Buddhist teen worries is now considered.

Part 2: Worries

The survey focused on three potential sources of worries among Buddhist teens: sexuality, relationships and personal safety. The teen years have been identified as a period of sexual unfolding involving physical development, psychological challenge and sexual readiness. Such sexual awakening is argued to make for an anxiety-laden time for teens (Sarrel & Sarrel, 1981). In the area of sexuality, this potential for worry is explored by a question concerning 'worries about sex-life'. A number of studies have concentrated on attitudes and beliefs concerning AIDS with greater concern about AIDS seeming to lead to a greater commitment to practise safe sex (Barling & Moore, 1990; Zimet et al., 1992). This potential worry is explored by a question concerning 'worry about infection with AIDS/HIV'. In the area of anxiety concerning personal relationships the survey targeted two issues – worries about how the individual gets on with other people and worries about attractiveness to the opposite sex. Issues regarding anxiety over personal safety have been raised in the contexts of both urban and rural studies (Francis, 1999). Some young people might become prisoners in their own homes if they envisage excessive dangers.

Two questions explore this area of life – namely feeling threatened by attack from pupils of other schools and worries about going out alone in their area at night. It should be added that the presence on the survey of the first three questions about sexual worries (and the question about pornography in Table 11.5, Chapter 11) provoked several heritage Buddhist parents to withdraw their adolescent children from taking part in the survey. The parents deemed it inappropriate (unnecessarily personal) even to raise the topic with young teens – an attitude which in itself might say something about the protective parental role of Buddhist mothers and fathers.

Overview

Table 8.6: Overview of Buddhist teen values concerning worries

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
I am worried about my sex life	11	40	49
I am worried about my attractiveness to the opposite sex	30	39	31
I am worried about getting AIDS/HIV	20	38	42
I am worried about how I get on with other people	36	32	32
I am worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools	11	30	59
I am worried about going out alone at night in my area	36	31	33

Table 8.6 presents an overview of Buddhist teen values regarding their worries. According to the data, few of the Buddhist teens were worried about their sexuality with just over a tenth (11%) expressing any worry at all. Almost half said they had no worries about their sex life (49%) with two-fifths (40%) remaining uncertain (or unwilling) to share a response. A slightly higher level of worry (30%) about attractiveness to the opposite sex was also indicated, with a very similar proportion (31%) disagreeing that they had any worry on this matter. A further two-fifths (39%)

may have experienced some worry over this matter. According to the present research a fifth of Buddhist teens (20%) registered concern about HIV infection. More than a third (36%) confessed to being worried about how they 'got on' with other people, compared with less than a third (32%) who confidently denied the proposition. An equal proportion (32%) were aware this might constitute an area of anxiety for them. One source of fear over personal safety came from the rivalry that exists between different groups of young people. The data demonstrate a small proportion (11%) were afraid of being attacked by pupils from other schools – a proportion that was less than the 18% who worried about bullying shown in Table 10.1 of chapter 10. A more commonplace source of fear seeming to affect over a third of Buddhist teens (36%) was the anxiety about going out alone at night in their area, while a further three-tenths (31%) might sometimes share this anxiety. On the other hand, a third of Buddhist teens (33%) claimed not to be worried about going out alone at night in their area.

Religious Affiliation

Table 8.7: Comparison of values concerning worries between Buddhist and religiously undifferentiated adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	*p*<
I am worried about my sex life	10	17	6.6	.05
I am worried about getting AIDS/HIV	17	58	112.4	.001
I am worried about how I get on with other people	37	52	13.4	.001
I am worried about going out alone at night in my area	46	31	16.9	.001

**from Francis (2001c, 29). Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at A7, Appendix A.*

For all of these value preferences, it is only valid to conclude that patterns reflect Buddhist religiosity if a significant difference in preference can be shown between Buddhists and non-Buddhists, or at least between Buddhists and a religiously-

undifferentiated sample. Table 8.7 shows a comparison between the values of Buddhist adolescents compared to the values on the same questions asked by Francis (2001c, 29) of 13- to 15-year-old RUA. Significant differences were found between Buddhist adolescents and RUA on four of the six questions about worry. Buddhists were less worried about their sex-life with 10% admitting worry (as opposed to 17% for RUA). Buddhists were less worried about HIV infection with only 17% admitting worry (as compared with 58% amongst RUA). Buddhist adolescents were less worried about how they got on with other people, with only 37% claiming to worry (as compared with 52% amongst RUA). However, Buddhist adolescents were *more* worried about going out alone at night in their area with 46% admitting worry (as compared to 31% amongst RUA).

Sex Differences

A comparison of Buddhist teen values regarding their worries, according to their sex, is presented in Table 8.8.

Table 8.8: Comparison of sex-differences in values concerning worries between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	$p<$
I am worried about going out alone at night in my area	24	50	31.6	.001

Yates correction applied. Full table at A8, Appendix A.

A significant difference was found between male and female Buddhist teens for only one of the six questions that dealt with worry. Females were over twice as likely to be worried about going out alone at night in their area with half (50%) expressing worry as compared to less than a quarter (24%) of the males.

Age Differences

Table 8.9: Comparison of age-differences in values concerning worries between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% Agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	p<
I am worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools	14	6	6.2	.05
I am worried about going out alone at night in my area	44	27	12.9	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at A9, Appendix A.

A comparison of Buddhist teen values regarding their worries, according to their age, is presented in Table 8.9. In this study the 'early teen' group included those with ages from 13 to 16 years, with the 'late teen' group including those with ages from 17 to 20 years. Significant age-differences in worries were found between Buddhists in their early teens and those in their late teens for only two of the six questions. Those in their early teens were likely to be twice as worried about attack by rival school pupils (14%) as were those in their late teens (6%). Similarly, those in their early teens were significantly more worried about going out alone in their area at night (44% expressed worry) as compared to those in their late teens (where only 27% expressed similar worries).

Socio-economic group

Table 8.10 Comparison of Buddhist teen values concerning worries across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	p<
I am worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools	5	13	17	8.9	.05

Full table at A10, Appendix A.

A comparison of Buddhist teen values regarding their worries, according to their socioeconomic group, is presented in Table 8.10. It is apparent that socio-economic group has minimal impact on worries as there was a significant difference between

SEC groups for only one of the six questions. Concerning fear of attack by pupils from rival schools, those with a breadwinner in a managerial occupation were significantly less worried (only 5% expressed worry) than for those with a breadwinner in an administrative (13%) or an elementary occupation (17%).

Religious Style

Religious style was not found to be a factor of statistical difference for Buddhist teen attitudes to worry *(see full table at A11, Appendix A).*

Conclusion

From previous research, it is known that Buddhist teens have worries in their lives, in the same way that teens of all religions and cultures worry, but the causes of worry may be different for Buddhists, since from Thanissaro's focus group research (2013b, 14) the worries seemed to derive from the compromise between pleasing parents and the Buddhist community, fitting in with non-Buddhist peers sufficiently not to be ostracized and succeeding at school. This study's assessment of Buddhist teen worries demonstrates that Buddhist teens express comparatively *low* levels of worry with reference to the attitude statements fielded. In comparison to RUA, Buddhists were *less* likely to worry about their sex life, HIV and getting on with other people in general – however, the prospect of going out alone at night in their area provoked more worry than for RUA. An example of such a worry was expressed by Shauna, a 14-year-old convert-raised Buddhist who explained that she didn't (Thanissaro, 2014c, 321):

> …like walking home when it's dark in the night in London … there are so many people who have been stabbed.

Low levels of worry in general might stem from regular practice of meditation as explained by the words of Anusha, a 13-year-old Srilankan Buddhist who said for her, meditation meant (Thanissaro, 2014c, 320):

> …sitting down for a while without thinking about the things that worry you and try [*sic*] to calm yourself down for a bit: sort of going blank—and enjoying the blankness.

A particularly low degree of worry concerning the family context might be connected with the collectivist tendency which seems to be encouraged in heritage Buddhist culture (dealt with in more detail in Chapter 11) as family relations in general seemed more harmonious (but formal) amongst the Buddhist teens as illustrated by an eighteen-year-old Thai Buddhist's comparison of behaviour between parent and child in a non-Buddhist home as compared to her own (Thanissaro, 2011b, 66):

> My (non-Buddhist) friend came to our house and if she's in front of my mum, she is more polite. Whereas if I go to her house, it will just be like shouting across the room at each other.

Previous literature (e.g. Halsall, 2002; 2005) has demonstrated that girls are more likely to express high levels of anxiety than boys, and this phenomenon has been

attributed to higher female levels of neuroticism (Eysenck & Eysenck, 1991; Francis 1993). Within the Buddhist sample, however, it was only on the issue of going out alone in their area at night that worry was significantly higher for females. Safety on the streets at night was also found to provoke more worry amongst Buddhists in their early teens, along with the worry of being attacked by pupils from other schools – which is to be anticipated as part of a more general phenomenon accounted for by Coleman and Hendry (1999) in terms of younger (physically smaller and weaker) children being easier to intimidate. Those from families with a breadwinner in a managerial occupation were significantly less worried about being attacked by pupils of other schools – perhaps because of the privilege of living in an area with lower crime rates.

Chapter Summary

What this chapter has told us about the emotional well-being of Buddhist teens, and how this connects with Buddhist identity is that the Buddhist touchstone of 'subjectivity of happiness' seems to be achieved in different ways depending on the Buddhist's religious style – for HBT by social approval and by CBT by originality and adaptation of tradition. Buddhists in Britain, whether HBT or CBT may have a special source of worry, commonplace amongst minorities, stemming from the requirement to juggle multicultural competencies between home, school and work – interpreting parental expectations in the context of a more secular and individualistic

mainstream culture. A certain degree of control over the possible worries seems to have been achieved by the Buddhists' involvement with meditation practices.

Having examined the Buddhist teen values concerning well-being and worries, findings relating to Buddhist teen socialization is now considered.

Chapter 9

Findings - Socialization

Twelve year-old Thai Buddhist girl -

"I start with questions by talking to my mum. If I want to find out more, I ask at the temple. And at school, when I learned about it, I had a better view of it."

explaining how she learned about Buddhism
while growing up in the UK (Thanissaro, 2011b, 71)

This chapter presents empirical findings on issues concerning Buddhist teen socialization. Socialization is important to understand in terms of the nurture that contributes possible antecedents for the formation of Buddhist identity – especially to observe the mechanism by which Social Learning Theory contributes to the formation of religious identity, since there is evidence to suggest that different areas of a Buddhist child's socialization might contribute to different parts of their religious identity – with parents contributing to extrinsic religiosity such as temple-going or ideologies, while more intrinsic religiosity such as worldview may come from participation in aspects of Buddhist ethos (Thanissaro, 2014b). Accordingly, the chapter tries to cover as many aspects of socialization into religion as possible and contains three parts that include the value areas of 'family', 'friends' and 'work'.

In previous research concerning attitudes to parents and family, it was found that for young people, family relationships can be a source of tension (Coffield, Borrill & Marshall, 1986), but also of support (Lewis, 1996, 52). Young people have been shown to have positive outlook towards their own families although they might not be forthcoming in discussing their problems with their families (Halsall, 2004, 410). Nonetheless, gratitude towards parents – a value thought of highly in the Buddhist community – has also been shown important more generally amongst adolescents in the UK with two-thirds (67%) wanting to look after their aging parents in their own home and a similar proportion (64%) thinking everyone should do the same.

Only a small percentage (21%) wanted to put their aging parents in an old peoples' home or not to look after them (10%)(Thanissaro, 2010c, 72).

In previous research concerning attitudes to friendship, although young people were generally positive about their relationship with their friends, peer pressure from friends affected their lives significantly through a need to conform (Lewis, 1996). Friends were seen as the primary source of non-judgmental emotional support (Barry, 2001). Socializing with friends was one major reason claimed for consuming alcohol (Coffield, Borrill & Marshall, 1986). Young people were found to communicate with friends primarily by mobile and home phone – computer-based communication being a less popular means of keeping in touch (Halsall, 2004, 410).

In previous research concerning attitudes to work and employment, it would seem that unemployment continues to feature as a source of youth anxiety in contemporary society (Smith 1995a), has a social stigma attached to it (Coffield, Borrill & Marshall, 1986, 186) and has been linked to adolescent crime (Sampson & Laub, 1993), substance abuse (Hammer, 1992; Peck & Plant, 1986) and suicide (Lester, 1992). Many young people said they worked part-time and others talked about useful working experience they had acquired from volunteering in youth organizations (Barry, 2001). Three-quarters of young people (77%) agreed that a job would give them a sense of purpose and 95% thought it important to work hard once they got a job. Almost nine-tenths (87%) said they wanted to get to the top in their job and a similar proportion (85%) said they would not like to be

unemployed. Over half (57%) said they would rather be employed in a job they didn't like than remain unemployed. Twice as many young people estimated that unemployed people could get a job if they tried than those who thought unemployment was not for want of searching (Francis, 2001c, 35).

Having sketched a vignette of attitudes to various aspects of socialization in previous research with religiously undifferentiated teens, attitudes to socialization are now examined for Buddhist teens under the subheadings of family, friends and work.

Part 1: Family

Generally for young people, the family has been understood as having a major role in forging young peoples' expectations about life (Dimmock, 2004, 196). Indeed, for Buddhist teens, previous focus group research has confirmed family influence as an important antecedent of nurture for religious identity. In Thanissaro's focus groups, 'parents' were identified by Buddhist teens as the value area *most* important to them, bar none (Thanissaro, 2013b, 11). Nonetheless, the teens regarded their families in both a positive and a negative light; positively as a support and having an good influence on them, yet negatively when they were not understood or there was interference with their leisure time.

Thus, the assessment of Buddhist teen family values in this study has been devised to quantify the extent to which Buddhist teens are primarily positive or negative regarding their families and consisted of a battery of ten questions. The questions

explored whether family was important to them, how well they got on with their family, whether they felt their family supported and influenced them, whether they found it helpful to talk about their problems with their parents; how often they felt embarrassed by their family and whether they felt family disapproval. Additionally, to test the presence or absence of the Buddhist value of 'filial piety' a question was included that interrogated the intention to look after parents in their old age. One other question concerning family attitudes, namely 'I would do what pleases my family even if I detest that activity' is found in the 'Collectivism' section of Chapter 11 with 40% agreement for Buddhists in general and 54% agreement amongst HBT.

Table 9.1: Overview of Buddhist teen family values

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
My family are important to me	82	17	1
I get on well with my family	69	27	4
My family are supportive of me	74	21	5
I am influenced by my family	61	29	10
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my mum	52	31	16
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my dad	38	35	27
I am often embarrassed by my family	25	34	40
My family disapproves of my friends	10	38	52
My family disapproves of what I do with my spare time	26	39	34
We should keep our aging parents with us at home	48	44	8

The overview of the Buddhist teen family values is followed by cross-tabulation of these values according to religious affiliation, sex, age, socio-economic group and religious style. Table 9.1 presents an overview of the Buddhist teen family values. Overall, the Buddhist teens valued their families positively. More than eight out of every ten Buddhist teens (82%) agreed that their family was important to them, and almost seven out of every ten (69%) agreed that they got on well with their family. Furthermore, there was widespread agreement (74%) that their family was

supportive and over six out of every ten (61%) agreed that they were influenced by their family, with only one in ten (10%) unsure about this. Buddhist teens found it helpful to talk about their problems with their parents. Over half (52%) agreed that they found it helpful to talk about their problems with their mum, while almost two-fifths (38%) found it helpful to talk about their problems with their dad.

Fewer of the Buddhist teens agreed with the negatively-worded statements regarding their family. Only a quarter (25%) agreed that they were often embarrassed by their family, with two-fifths (40%) disagreeing that they were often embarrassed by their family. A quarter (26%) agreed that their family disapproved of what they did in their spare time, and just 10% agreed that their family disapproved of their friends. Finally, almost half of the Buddhists teenagers (48%) intended to keep their aging parents with them at home.

Religious Affiliation

Table 9.2: Comparison of family values between Buddhist & religiously-undifferentiated/non-Buddhist adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.	χ^2	p<
My family disapproves of what I do with my spare time	34	21*	14.9	.001
We should keep our aging parents with us at home	53	29†	27.8	.001

**from Halsall (2004) p.230, †from Thanissaro (2012b) p.332. Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at B1, Appendix B.*

To ascertain the particularly Buddhist components of family values, Table 9.2 shows a comparison between the values of the Buddhist adolescents compared to the values on the same questions asked by Halsall (2004, 230) of 13- to 15-year-old RUA or Thanissaro (2012b, 332) of non-Buddhist adolescents of the same age. Although it

might be expected that Buddhists would be particularly family-oriented, it was on only two of the ten questions concerning family values that a significant difference was observed between Buddhists (as a whole) and the comparison group. Buddhist adolescents were more likely to experience disapproval about the way they used their spare time, with one-third of Buddhists (34%) experiencing such disapproval compared to only one-fifth (21%) of RUA. Furthermore, Buddhists were much more likely to want to look after their aging parents in their own home with over half (53%) of the Buddhists expressing such filial piety compared to less than three-tenths (29%) of non-Buddhists of the same age.

Sex Differences

A comparison of the Buddhist teen family values, according to their sex, is presented in table 9.3.

Table 9.3: Comparison of family values between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	$p<$
I am often embarrassed by my family	30	20	4.4	.05
My family disapproves of my friends	12	6	3.9	.05

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at B2, Appendix B.

Sex is a factor of statistical significance for the family values of Buddhist teens for only two of the ten questions. Buddhist teenage males were more likely to be embarrassed by their family with three-tenths (30%) of the males feeling such embarrassment compared to only one-fifth (20%) of the females. Buddhist males were also twice as likely to be on the receiving end of disapproval concerning their

friends with 12% of males experiencing disapproval for their friends compared to only 6% for the Buddhist females.

Age Differences

A comparison of the Buddhist teen family values according to their age, is presented in table 9.4.

Table 9.4: Comparison of family values between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	p<
My family are important to me	87	77	7.2	.01
I am often embarrassed by my family	35	15	21.0	.001
My family are supportive of me	79	69	5.3	.05
My family disapproves of what I do with my spare time	34	18	13.0	.001
We should keep our aging parents with us at home	53	41	5.3	.05

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at B3, Appendix B.

For five of the ten questions, there was a significant downturn in the family values of Buddhists as they moved from their early teens to their late teens. Almost nine out of ten of those in their early teens (87%) said family was important to them compared to just over three-quarters (77%) for those in their late teens. Embarrassment caused by their family, that was experienced by over a third of those in their early teens (35%), had declined to only 15% for those in their late teens. Where almost eight out of every ten in their early teens (79%) felt their family to be supportive, the equivalent number for those in their late teens was almost seven out of every ten (69%). Where a third of those in their early teens (34%) attracted disapproval concerning the use of their spare time, the disapproval was almost halved to 18% by the time they reached their late teens. Finally, where more

than half of those in their early teens (55%) intended to look after their parents in their old age, the intention had diminished to just over two-fifths (41%) by the time they reached their late teens.

Socio-economic group

There were no significant differences in Buddhist teen attitudes to family in terms of SEC. *(The full table is shown at B4, Appendix B)*

Religious Style

Table 9.5: Comparison of family values between heritage & convert Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	p<
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my mum	59	42	8.9	.01
I get on well with my family	76	53	20.6	.001
My family are important to me	89	70	20.1	.001
My family are supportive of me	84	57	33.6	.001
My family disapproves of what I do with my spare time	33	16	12.4	.001
I am influenced by my family	74	41	38.8	.001
We should keep our aging parents with us at home	61	39	44.0	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at B5, Appendix B.

As shown in Table 9.5, religious style was a factor of statistical significance when considering the family values of Buddhist teenagers on seven of the ten questions – in all cases family being *closer* in the case of HBT. HBT found it more helpful to talk about problems with their mum, with almost three-fifths agreement in HBT (59%) compared to around two-fifths agreement (42%) in CBT. Over three-quarters of HBT (76%) said they got on well with their family in comparison to little over half for CBT (53%). Almost nine out of every ten HBT (89%) felt supported by their family whereas less than three-fifths of CBT (57%) could claim the same. A third of HBT (35%) attracted family disapproval for their spare-time activities compared to

half the number in CBT (16%). Almost three-quarters of HBT (74%) claimed to be influenced by their family whereas little over two-fifths of CBT (41%) experienced such influence. Finally, where over three-fifths of HBT (61%) expressed filial piety towards their parents on the issue of caring for them in old age, the equivalent figure for CBT was less than two-fifths (39%).

Conclusion

The profile of Buddhist teens values regarding family generated by this study has shown that the family values for Buddhists taken as a whole are likely to be significantly different from the general population only in the degree to which parents interfere in the way children use their spare time and in their intention to care for parents in their old age. This conforms with findings from previous research with UK Buddhist teens (Thanissaro, 2011b, 70; 2014b, 743-744) which identified caring for parents in old age as one of the practical indicators of filial piety, along with gratitude and the Buddhist practice of bowing to parents. The practicality of caring for parents in old age, rather than putting them in a care home or retirement home, was explained by Anusha (Thanissaro, 2014b, 744) as:

> . . . helping them with the things they are unable to do themselves . . . probably not in an old people's home—but if nearby . . . if their family couldn't look after them by themselves, you'd take them into your own home and try to look after them.

The male Buddhist teens were more likely to feel embarrassed by their family and for their friends to meet with parental disapproval. The strength of family values seemed to diminish with age [perhaps as many of the older teens had already become more independent by leaving home] – with the older teens finding their family significantly less important, embarrassing and supportive. Furthermore, older teens were less likely to experience family interference in the way they chose to use their spare time and were less motivated to look after their parents in their old age. SEC was shown not to be a factor of statistical significance in the Buddhist teen family values. Again it was the (dutiful) HBT who seemed the strongest proponents of family values, relative to CBT, finding both parents more helpful to talk to about their problems and generally getting on better with their family – possibly since speaking politely and being helpful was a part of HBT respect towards parents (Thanissaro, 2013b, 12). HBT claimed to receive more support from their family [this normally meant receiving parental encouragement and pressure to succeed in their studies (Thanissaro, 2013b, 12)] and generally finding family more important. Indeed, in previous research, CBT have been more forthcoming in mentioning family-based worries than HBT (Thanissaro, 2014c, 321). HBT also estimated themselves to be influenced more by their family than CBT, with more interference in their chosen use of spare time and feeling more inclined to care for their parents in their old age. Interference HBT experienced by parental 'nagging' was found in previous research to mean disapproval of staying out or going to bed late, gaming and online social networking, marriage outside the community, getting piercings or tattoos,

seeing too much of friends, drinking alcohol and smoking (and especially for girls) immodest dress and talking to boys (Thanissaro, 2013b, 12). The attitudes for which parents seemed to exert an influence on the identity development of their teenage children (for example by disapproval of misuse of spare time) seemed to deal with extrinsic aspects of religious identity, rather than their spirituality (or intrinsic religion) – an aspect to be examined further in Chapter 13 that deals with attitudes towards Buddhism. In previous research, HBT have likened their parents to a 'conscience' on behalf of the community. In the words of Tishi, a 16-year-old Srilankan Buddhist (Thanissaro, 2013b, 12):

> It is like, in the back of your mind when you do something, (you hear the words) 'What are people thinking about you?' – especially when you are in a community, your parents tend to think what other people think.

Part 2: Friends

Young people such as those involved in Anna Halsall's focus groups (2004, 122) or Bibby's (2001) Canadian teens, typically acknowledge the pivotal role of friends in their lives – for example, they emphasise the importance of their friends as a support network – but also recognize peer pressure from their friends and a need to fit in with them. The central role of friends was also apparent in

The Values Debate (Francis, 2001c) which found nearly two thirds (63%) of young people found it helpful to talk about problems with their friends. The six questions in this part of the survey explored whether Buddhist teenagers reflected the opinions expressed in Thanissaro's focus groups (2013b, 11) that friends are both important and a source of helpful advice on dealing with problems, whether Buddhist teens felt influenced or pressured by their friends, whether the friends with whom Buddhist teens associate were Buddhist too and of the same sex as themselves. Responses to these questions were analyzed in terms of the individual differences of religious affiliation, sex, age, socioeconomic group and religious style.

Table 9.6: Overview of Buddhist teen values concerning friends

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
My friends are important to me	78	20	2
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my friends	63	28	8
I am influenced by my friends	48	36	16
Sometimes I feel pressured by my friends to do things I don't want to do	24	34	43
Most of my friends are Buddhist	14	25	61
I mostly socialize with friends the same sex as me	34	28	38

As shown in Table 9.6, the Buddhist teens were positive regarding the relationships to their friends with over three-quarters (78%) agreeing that their friends were important to them, a fifth (20%) uncertain about this and only 2% disagreeing with the statement – corresponding with the finding in Thanissaro's focus groups that friends were the *third* most important value area (Thanissaro, 2013b, 11). The Buddhist teen positivity towards their friends was also demonstrated through the fact that almost two-thirds (63%) agreed that they found it helpful to talk about

problems with their friends – although this was clarified in the focus groups by Buddhists who said friends might only give better advice than parents on matters such as relationships or sexual orientation (Thanissaro 2014c, 322). The wording of being 'influenced' by friends rather than 'pressurized' which implies a welcome contribution to nurture by friends, attracted relatively more agreement with almost half (48%) of the Buddhist teens. A smaller, though still substantial, proportion of the Buddhist teens agreed that they felt pressured by their friends. Almost a quarter (24%) of the Buddhist teens agreed that they sometimes felt pressured by their friends to do things they did not want to do, but over two-fifths (43%) disagreed about experiencing such pressure from friends – echoing the sentiments of Buddhist teens in previous research who had explained that good friends didn't pressurize you to do things against your will (Thanissaro 2014c, 322). A further question on the religious affiliation of the friends with whom these Buddhist teenagers associated, revealed that over three-fifths (61%) disagreed that most of their friends were Buddhist (only 14% agreed) – therefore, it would be unlikely that Buddhist identity would be perpetuated through the channel of friends. Since parents seemed to exercise some control in their childrens' marriage plans – at least in the Burmese and Srilankan communities – the expectation was tested that same-sex socialization would be the norm, contradicting the tendency to mix in general UK society. The question was therefore asked whether Buddhist teens tended to socialize mainly with friends of the same sex. The findings showed that very similar numbers socialized in same-sex (34%) and mixed-sex groups (38%).

Religious Affiliation

For all these value preferences, it is only valid to conclude that patterns reflect Buddhist religiosity if a significant difference in preference can be shown between Buddhists and non-Buddhists, or at least between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated respondents. Table 9.7 shows a comparison between the values of Buddhist adolescents compared to the values on the same questions asked by Halsall (2004, 242) of a 3,183-strong sample of 13- to 15-year-old RUA.

Table 9.7: Comparison of values concerning friends between Buddhist and religiously undifferentiated adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	$p<$
My friends are important to me	84	94	29.7	.001

**from Halsall (2004) p.242. Yates correction applied. Full table at B6, Appendix B.*

No significant difference was found between Buddhist adolescents and the comparison group on the degree to which they felt pressurized by friends, talked about problems with friends or were influenced by friends. Only in the case of the importance vested in friends were Buddhist adolescents significantly *less* friend-orientated with 84% agreeing their friends were important to them compared to 94% for RUA.

Sex Differences

A comparison of male and female Buddhist teen attitudes regarding their relationships with friends found no questions where a significant difference was noted between the two sexes [*see full table at B7, Appendix B*].

Age Differences

A comparison of the attitudes of Buddhists in their early and late teens regarding relationships with friends is presented in table 9.8.

Table 9.8: Comparison of values concerning friends between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	*Late*	χ^2	*p<*
My friends are important to me	82	73	4.7	.05
I mostly socialize with friends the same sex as me	41	26	9.5	.01

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at B8, Appendix B.

Age was a factor of significance for only two of the values questions concerning friendship. It appeared that friends became significantly less important with age, with 82% finding friends important in their early teens, but agreement for this statement dropping to 73% by the late teen years. Additionally, same-sex socialization dropped as age increased with over two-fifths (41%) mostly socializing with friends of the same sex in their early teens, but the percentage dropping to just over a quarter (26%) by their late teens.

Socio-economic group

A comparison of the Buddhist teen values regarding relationships with friends, according to their socio-economic group, is presented in table 9.9.

Table 9.9: Comparison of Buddhist teen values concerning friends across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	*Admin.*	*Elem.*	χ^2	*p<*
Sometimes I feel pressured by my friends to do things I don't want to do	19	32	21	6.6	.05
Most of my friends are Buddhist	8	18	13	6.6	.05

Full table at B9, Appendix B.

Only two of the friendship values questions varied significantly according to SEC. It appeared that those of the administrative category (middle class occupations) experienced significantly more unwelcome pressure from friends with almost a third (32%) agreeing with this statement, whereas just under a fifth (19%) of those from managerial category (upper class occupations) and just over a fifth (21%) of those from the elementary category (lower class occupations) agreed to the same statement. It is interesting to speculate whether the unwelcome pressure from friends was in fact from fellow *Buddhists*, since it was those belonging to the administrative category who had significantly more Buddhist friends. Eighteen percent of the administrative category claimed to have Buddhist friends whereas only 13% of those from the elementary category and 8% of those from the managerial category could claim the same.

Religious style

A comparison of the Buddhist teen attitudes regarding friends, according to their religious style found significant differences between HBT and CBT for five of the eight friendship questions. As shown in Table 9.10, amongst HBT, friends were claimed to be more important with 84% saying friends were important as opposed to only 68% for CBT. HBT found it more helpful to talk about problems with their friends, with 71% agreeing to this statement as opposed to only 55% for CBT. HBT were more likely to be influenced by their friends, with 54% agreeing to the statement as opposed to only 40% for CBT – and it is interesting to speculate that this might

Table 9.10: Comparison of values concerning friends between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	$p<$
My friends are important to me	84	68	11.6	.01
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my friends	71	55	9.8	.01
I am influenced by my friends	54	40	6.2	.05
Most of my friends are Buddhist	20	4	17.4	.001
I mostly socialize with friends the same sex as me	42	20	19.3	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at B10, Appendix B.

link with the finding that HBT were five times more likely to associate with Buddhist friends (20%) than the CBT for whom only 4% said their friends were Buddhist. Finally, in accordance with predictably 'traditional' values, HBT were found to be twice as likely to socialize with friends of the same sex (42%) as CBT for whom the equivalent percentage was 20%.

Conclusion

The profile of Buddhist teen values in regard to their friends, shows that although Buddhist teens valued friendship, they valued it significantly *less* than teenagers in general – furthermore friendship became less important to the teenagers as they became older. There is evidence to suggest that Buddhist parents discouraged their teen children from investing too much time in friendships as illustrated by Sophie, a 16-year-old Thai Buddhist who explained (Thanissaro, 2013b, 13):

> My parents don't like me to hang out with friends who are not interested in schoolwork – who are a bad influence.

Sex differences were conspicuously absent, especially as Halsall (2004, 243) and Francis (2001c) found females more likely to talk about problems with friends and McRobbie (1991) found peer pressure more prevalent in males. It may be that friendship issues have achieved a more equal gender balance in Buddhist culture or perhaps it reflects a more general trend for teenagers of the present decade. 'Middle-class' Buddhist teenagers were found more likely to be adversely affected by peer pressure and to associate with friends who were fellow Buddhists. Finally, it was found (perhaps as might be expected) that the Buddhist teenagers were more likely to venture out of same-sex friendships as they became older. In previous focus groups, Buddhist teens have also estimated that for advice they are turning away from parents towards friends at an earlier age than they used to twenty years ago (Thanissaro, 2013b, 11). In terms of Buddhist style, HBT were found more likely than CBT to value friendship, to talk about problems with friends, have Buddhist friends and be influenced by them and to have mainly same-sex friendships – leaving a sense of the possible isolation, or perhaps single-handed resourcefulness among CBT. In focus groups with Buddhist teenagers in the UK, both CBT and HBT thought that keeping closely to Buddhist teachings often helped them resist unwelcome peer pressure as illustrated by the words of Rhiannon a 14-year-old convert-raised Buddhist who explained (Thanissaro, 2014c, 322):

> It's like, I just be myself and I don't really care if they judge me, because I'm just 'me'.

It may be the case too, with Buddhists, as Coleman and Hendry (1999) have stated more generally, that the importance of peer pressure for young people is frequently overestimated by adults. This might particularly be the case for Buddhist teenagers in Britain where teenagers maintain their Buddhist affiliation despite the majority of their peers belonging to another or no religion. They would not, therefore be expected to seek advice on *religious* issues from their peers to the same degree as might be the case in a country with a majority Buddhist population. This distinction was also noted by Manura, a 13-year-old Srilankan Buddhist who admitted (Thanissaro, 2013b, 10):

> (I'd ask parents only about) particular things…advice and stuff on what to do. If you had a problem…they know more about…Buddhist stuff. But for relationships and stuff, I would ask advice from my friends because I find it awkward to talk to parents.

Or for Mike, a 13-year-old convert raised Buddhist (Thanissaro, 2014c, 322):

> (You would go to your) friends if you've got relationship problems; you wouldn't go to your parents.

The observed trend for peers to have more of an impact on religious *attitudes* than parents, as described in research with Christian teenagers (Francis, 1993b; Francis & Craig, 2006), would for this reason be absent from any Buddhist sample growing up in the West (Thanissaro, 2014b, 733). Although it has been demonstrated that

being Buddhist was seen favourably by non-Buddhist peers (Thanissaro, 2014a, 5) particularly for HBT, Buddhists still found themselves in situations such as 'drinking to be sociable', that compromised aspects of their Buddhist identity when mixing with non-Buddhist friends (Thanissaro, 2014b, 751). Finally, on the topic of friendship, two additional questions of relevance to friendship have found their way into the examination of collectivism in Chapter 11 with fielding of the attitude questions, 'I would not sacrifice friendship with others to get ahead in life' (where agreement was 55% showing the presence of the *interdependence* attribute of allocentrism in Buddhists) and 'I like to live close to my close friends' (where agreement was 56% showing the presence of the *sociability* attribute of allocentrism in Buddhists). Having examined the Buddhist teen values regarding their friends, the third part of the value-area of socialization, that of 'work' is now considered.

Part 3: Work

Research concerning the transition from school to work has recognized that work-related attitudes and values are shaped well before the school-leaving age (Hill & Scharff, 1976). Two specific areas of work-related attitudes that were explored in this study included commitment to work and attitudes towards unemployment. Even in these early years of the twenty-first century, it would appear that employment still continues to define a person's identity and shape their lives.

Table 9.11: Overview of Buddhist teen attitudes towards work

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
A job gives you a sense of purpose	60	30	10
I think it is important to work hard when I get a job	81	18	1
I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job	67	27	5
I would not like to be unemployed	65	28	7
I would rather be unemployed on social security than get a job I don't like doing	24	37	39
Most unemployed people could have a job if they really wanted to	45	40	14

The data shown in Table 9.11 demonstrate that Buddhist teens consider themselves part of such a society. Three-fifths (60%) of the Buddhist teens agree that a job gives people a sense of purpose. By way of contrast only 10% deny this view, while the remaining three-tenths are undecided. The majority of Buddhist teens are committed to investing energy into the world of work and demonstrate signs of personal ambition. Thus an overwhelming 81% agreed that it is important to work hard when they get a job, with two-thirds (67%) agreeing that they wanted to reach the top in any eventual job. The work culture remains so important to these Buddhist teens that almost two-thirds (65%) clearly confirmed that they would not like to be unemployed compared to just 7% who affirmed that unemployment would not bother them. There is little support from the survey for the view that Buddhist teens are work-shy or take state support for granted. Less than a quarter (24%) are clear that they would rather be unemployed than be in a job which they disliked. Almost two-fifths (39%) would prefer to take *any* job rather than remain unemployed, with over a third (37%) remaining undecided on this matter. The final question in this section examined Buddhist teen views on the nature of unemployment by exploring the perception of the extent to which they hold the unemployed responsible for their own plight. The data demonstrated that over two-fifths (45%) of the Buddhist

teens consider that most unemployed people *could* have a job if they really wanted to, compared to a similar proportion who are undecided (40%) and a small minority who disagree (14%) with this view. By way of summary, the data provide a profile of a generation of Buddhist teens who remain committed to a world of work and whose future identity hinges on appropriate employment.

Religious Affiliation

Table 9.12: Comparison of work values between Buddhist & religiously-undifferentiated adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	$p<$
A job gives you a sense of purpose	66	76	8.4	.01
I think it is important to work hard when I get a job	87	94	16.3	.001
I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job	77	86	10.6	.01
I would not like to be unemployed	70	85	27.1	.001
I would rather be unemployed on social security than get a job I don't like doing	26	18	6.0	.05

**from Francis (2001c, 34). Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at B11, Appendix B.*

To examine aspects of 'work ethic' particular to Buddhist identity, Table 9.12 shows a comparison between the values of the Buddhist adolescents and those on the same questions asked by Francis (2001c, 34) of 13- to 15-year-old RUA. Of the six questions regarding work values, five of the questions showed significant differences between Buddhist adolescents and RUA. Buddhists were significantly less inclined than RUA to agree that a job gave them a sense of purpose (66% as compared to 76% for RUA). Buddhists were less inclined to want to work hard at a future job with only 87% agreement (as compared with 94% for RUA). Buddhist teens had less ambition to reach the top job in a future career with only 77% agreement (as compared to 86% for RUA). Buddhists were less inclined to shun unemployment with only 70% saying they would not like to be unemployed (as compared to 85% for RUA). Only

in the matter of preferring to be 'on the dole' rather than do a job they didn't like, were Buddhists significantly more positive with 26% agreement (compared to only 18% for RUA).

Sex Differences

There were no significant sex differences between Buddhist teen attitudes to work. *(For full table see B12 in Appendix B).*

Age Differences

Table 9.13: Comparison of values concerning work between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	p<
A job gives you a sense of purpose	65	55	4.5	.05
I think it is important to work hard when I get a job	85	76	5.8	.05
I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job	76	57	15.7	.001
I would not like to be unemployed	72	57	9.3	.01

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at B13, Appendix B.

As shown in Table 9.13 for Buddhist teens, age proved to be a factor of statistical significance for four of the six questions concerning working values. Working ambition and distaste for unemployment seemed to diminish with age. Those in their early teens were more likely to think a job would give them a sense of purpose (65% as compared with 55% for those in their late teens). Those in their early teens were more likely to want to work hard in a future job (85% as compared with 76% for those in their late teens). Those in their early teens were more likely to aim for a top job in a future career (76% as compared with 57% for those in their late teens). Finally, those in their early teens were more likely to shun unemployment (72% as compared with 57% for those in their late teens).

Socio-economic Group

None of the SEC comparisons for Buddhist teen work values showed significant differences. *(For full table see B14 in Appendix B)*

Religious Style

Table 9.14: Comparison of values concerning work between heritage & convert Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	heritage	convert	χ^2	p<
A job gives you a sense of purpose	66	49	10.0	.01
I think it is important to work hard when I get a job	89	66	31.1	.001
I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job	82	45	52.6	.001
I would not like to be unemployed	73	52	15.4	.001
Most unemployed people could have a job if they really wanted to	63	23	56.0	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at B15, Appendix B.

As shown in Table 9.14, there were five of the six work-ethic related questions for which stronger work ethic was shown in HBT than CBT. Two-thirds of HBT (66%) thought a job gave them a sense of purpose in comparison to less than half (49%) of CBT. Almost nine-tenths of HBT (89%) thought it important to work hard in a future job compared to only two-thirds of CBT (66%). Over four-fifths of HBT (82%) had their eye on a top job in a future career compared to less than half of the CBT (45%). Almost three-quarters of HBT shunned unemployment (73%) compared to little over half of the CBT (52%). Finally, over three-fifths of HBT (63%) blamed the unemployed for their own plight as compared to less than a quarter of CBT (23%).

Conclusion

This profile of values regarding work has shown that Buddhist teens (taken as a whole) have a work ethic that is less strong than that found in a religiously-undifferentiated teen population. Buddhists were less inclined to agree that a job gave them a sense of purpose, to see the point of working hard at a future job or to have the ambition to get to the top in their job. Buddhists were not so averse to the thought of being unemployed and dependent on social security faced with doing a job they did not like. I would not interpret these findings in terms of laziness or lack of motivation to work, as to a significant extent, a work ethic can been demonstrated to exist in Buddhist theory[1] and practice (Thanissaro, 2013b, 11), albeit less overarching than the Protestant work ethic. I would rather expect Buddhists to reject materialist aims in life, perhaps in favour of ethicality (Right Livelihood) or transcendent aims, interpreting 'the sort of work I do not like' as considering it unethical (e.g. selling alcohol or prostitution). It is interesting that work did not come readily to mind when the teenagers in Thanissaro's focus groups were brainstorming their most important value areas, but work-ethic did arise as an important topic in subsequent focus group conversation (Thanissaro, 2013b, 11). The disposition to be ambitious in the workplace was also seen to diminish with age in Buddhists – those in their late teens seeming less likely to consider a job gave their life a sense of purpose or to shun unemployment. This age-related apathy

[1] Skilfulness in work, not leaving work undone and blameless work are included in the Mangala Sutta, Sn.258-289.

towards work was not noted in Francis's (2001c, 72) much larger general teen sample. In this teen Buddhist sample, also contrary to Francis's (2001c, 100, 126) observations that males had a stronger work ethic and that the upper classes are more likely to work hard and shun unemployment, neither age nor SEC group proved statistically significant for Buddhists. Interestingly, there was a huge difference between the CBT and HBT, the latter of whom seemed to go against the trend of rejecting a work ethic. Heritage Buddhists came across as particularly hard-working – and this may be explained in second-generation migrants by the motivation to 'get ahead' in life without having to undergo the hardships of their parents' generation – a point illustrated by Manisha, a 14-year-old Srilankan Buddhist that HBT parents (Thanissaro, 2013b, 12):

> …want you to be straight up there (with a chance from the beginning) instead of having to go through all the pain and suffering to work up to where they are today.

It is likely that CBT feel they are rejecting the idea of work-ethic along with other 'establishment' mores by adopting Buddhism as their chosen religion. Thus the role of work ethic for Buddhist groups in the UK can be explained sociologically in terms of the differential cleavage in their member group identities (Thanissaro 2014c, 326).

Chapter summary

In conclusion, socialization into religion seems to come from parents (primarily the mother) and is supplemented by spiritual teachers seen as authoritative at a temple or meditation centre. The parents, particularly for HBT, seem to act as a representative in the home for the social conscience of the community. It is surmised that parents chivvy their children into conformity with the norms of the wider Buddhist community, thereby instilling aspects of Buddhist 'ideology' (extrinsic expressions of religion) such as temple attendance or self-identification as Buddhist. Unspoken parental example also has a strong influence (conforming with the mechanisms of Social Learning Theory) in instilling worldview (intrinsic aspects of religion) which will be reinforced too by immersion in temple ethos. The influence and importance of friends for socialization into religion in the UK is diminished because most of the friends of Buddhists are not themselves Buddhist. Contact with friends, will certainly however, help the teens think about the modern-day relevance of Buddhist convictions and practice. The influence of Buddhist books may replace socialization for many CBT. Work ambitions are seen as important duties for teens but there is a sense amongst Buddhists that there is more to life than submitting to the 'rat-race'.

Having examined values concerning Buddhist teen socialization, their values with relation to education are now considered.

Chapter 10

Findings - Education

Phramongkolthepmuni (1884-1959), celebrated Thai Buddhist master of meditation -

"Education can change a student's life for the better – knowledge is the king's heritage available to the common man. It brings us benefits for life…"

Dhammakaya Foundation (2003, 33)

This chapter presents empirical findings on issues concerning Buddhist teen education in general and Religious Education (RE) in particular. In previous research concerning attitudes to school and education it was found that school played a significant part in the lives of young people (Rutter et al., 1979) including the adverse effects of bullying (Barry, 2001; Smith et al., 1999). Some expressed concern about the quality of education they were receiving (Lewis, 1996) and others thought school should dedicate more of its curriculum to vocationally relevant skills (Barry, 2001). It has been shown that young people generally thought education important and regarded it positively (Halsall, 2004, 412) – with most young people agreeing that parents should be consulted about curriculum content and three-quarters believing pupils too should have a say at school (Hughes & Lloyd, 1996). Over two-fifths (41%) of young people rejected the criticism that school was boring. Nine-tenths (90%) of young people thought they benefitted socially from school. Almost three-quarters (72%) of young people estimated they were happy at school and over two-thirds (68%) thought school was a good preparation for adult life. Over three-fifths (64%) claimed to worry often about their school work and three-quarters (74%) were worried by exams. Over a quarter (28%) were worried about bullying at school and over two-fifths (45%) estimated that teachers did a good job (Francis, 2001c, 33). An increase in young people's concern about bullying was noted between equivalent figures in 2001 and 2004 (Francis, 2001c, 32; Halsall, 2004, 412).

Previous research concerning attitudes to RE at school has usually been included within the values area of 'religion and society' questions. Attitudes about the

particularly British phenomenon of providing RE and CW in school, have previously been explored by Williams and Finch (1968), Ormerod (1975) and Harvey (1984). All found RE listed last or second to last in the order of favourite school subjects – girls holding RE in higher regard than boys, and the positive attitude to RE declining with age. Previous research has been based on asking pupils one simple question, about whether they thought RE should be taught in school (Lewis & Francis, 1996). In 1996, Kay found that a third of pupils agreed with RE being taught in school and 6% agreed with holding daily CW (1996, 272). In 2001, over a third (38%) still considered RE worth teaching in school and 8% agreed that a religious assembly should be held daily in school (Francis, 2001b, 39), figures still much lower for both RE (60%) and CW (39%) than evidenced in a more recent small urban sample of adolescents (Thanissaro, 2010c, 64). Attitude to RE and CW was also explored as a function of age and gender (Francis & Kay, 1995, 187) finding that primary pupils from a religiously undifferentiated population preferred daily CW to RE while secondary pupils preferred RE to *daily* CW – although it has subsequently been commented that the word 'daily' might have unduly curbed pupils' enthusiasm for CW (Kay, 1996, 271). Research on attitudes toward RE and CW was replicated by Alan Smith in Walsall schools, separating the results according to religious affiliation (2002, 78). The feedback from such research was of fairly limited use to RE stakeholders because a child might agree or disagree with RE and CW being taught in school for a huge variety of different reasons. More detailed examination of pupil

attitude toward RE in a recent small sample of urban adolescents showed two-thirds agreed RE helped them understand different religions, but only two-fifths thought RE helped them learn new things about their own religion, two-thirds agreed that RE helped them respect others' religious beliefs, 46% agreed RE helped them understand their own religion and 42% agreed RE should be part of a broad and balanced school curriculum. Over a third of adolescents questioned thought the way religion was taught in school differed from religion they had learned at home (Thanissaro, 2010c, 54) - and were quick to point out the shortcomings in the way their religion was portrayed in RE (Thanissaro, 2011b).

Part 1: General Experience of School

Young people spend a huge proportion of their time at school, as demonstrated by the title of Rutter et al.'s (1979) research *Fifteen Thousand Hours*. The large amount of time the young people spend at school is something of an indicator of the consequential role it plays in their lives. In research with a general teen population growing up in the UK, Barry (2001) found school to be one of seven key themes of importance to young people participating in her research. As already mentioned in Chapter 3 (p.61), this focus on education is known to be particularly strong for Buddhists whether in terms of scripturally-based Buddhist values such as respect for education[1] and more specifically in Vietnamese culture as 'love of learning' [*tánh hiếu học*] (Rutledge, 1992, 89). Buddhist teens in Thanissaro's focus groups viewed

[1] *sikkhâ-gâravatâ* A.iii.330

education as the *second* most important values area in their lives (Thanissaro, 2013b, 11). Buddhist teens explained the importance to them of school, particularly in terms of qualifying for a good job. However, they also admitted that school was a cause of concern to them, especially in terms of the pressure of schoolwork and exams (Thanissaro, 2013b, 13). The questions in this study attempted to quantify the importance of school to Buddhist teens through examining attitudes in terms of eight questions. The questions explored whether Buddhist teens were generally bored or happy at school and their attitudes to bullying, fellow pupils, exam pressure, teachers and the relevance of subjects taught at school to their future. Attitudes to truancy are also touched upon briefly in the 'Right and Wrong' section of Chapter 12, where Buddhists were three times more averse to playing truant than RUA. This part of the chapter presents an overview of the Buddhist teen values regarding school, followed by an examination of these values according to their religious affiliation, sex, age, socio-economic group and religious style as factors that may be of significance. Table 10.1 presents an overview of the Buddhist teen values regarding school.

Table 10.1: Overview of Buddhist teen attitudes to school

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
School is boring	18	37	45
I am happy in my school	63	27	10
I like the people I go to school with	66	26	8
My school is helping me prepare for life	57	29	14
I often worry about my school work	54	29	17
I am worried about my exams at school	61	27	12
I am worried about being bullied at school	18	28	53
Teachers do a good job	62	30	8

At first glance, the Buddhist teens seemed positive about their experience of school, although high proportions were also worried about school. Less than a fifth (18%) found school boring with almost two-thirds (63%) claiming to be happy in school. About two-thirds (66%) agreed that they liked the people they went to school with. Furthermore, over half (57%) agreed that school was helping to prepare them for life. A further important concern for the Buddhist teens was pressure from exams. Over three-fifths (61%) were concerned about their exams at school. Only 12% did not feel concerned about their school exams. Even schoolwork outside exams was a source of worry for many with over half (54%) claiming often to worry about school work. Peers also seemed to have minimal impact on the Buddhist teens through bullying at school – because as little as 18% were concerned about bullying and only 28% were uncertain on this question. The positive feedback about school experience was completed by the Buddhist teen opinion of teachers, as over three-fifths (62%) agreed that teachers did a good job, with only a few (8%) actively disagreeing about teacher professionalism, and three in ten (30%) who were not certain.

Religious Affiliation

To examine what is particularly 'Buddhist' about school-related values, Table 10.2 shows a comparison between the values of the Buddhist adolescents compared to the values on the same questions asked by Francis (2001c, 32) of 13- to 15-year-old RUA for whom the sample (*N*) was 33,982.

Table 10.2: Comparison of values concerning school between Buddhist and religiously undifferentiated adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	$p<$
School is boring	18	36	23.2	.001
I like the people I go to school with	75	89	29.2	.001
I often worry about my school work	52	63	8.6	.001
I am worried about my exams at school	65	74	6.4	.05
Teachers do a good job	70	44	43.5	.001

**from Francis (2001c, 32). Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at C1, Appendix C.*

It was shown that Buddhist adolescents were half as likely to think school boring with only 18% finding school boring compared with 36% of RUA. Buddhists were less inclined to like their fellow pupils with only three-quarters (75%) claiming to like the people they went to school with as compared to nearly nine-tenths (89%) for RUA. The Buddhists were less inclined to worry about exams and schoolwork. Little over half the Buddhists (52%) worried about schoolwork as compared with over three-fifths (63%) of RUA. Less than two-thirds of Buddhists worried about exams (65%) whereas almost three-quarters (74%) of RUA were worried by exams. It is interesting to speculate whether the Buddhists were calmer about school because they had done their homework dutifully or whether they were just more relaxed about life in general since by practising meditation regularly they may have benefitted in the way described by Maung Kyaw, an eighteen-year-old Burmese Buddhist who said meditation was (Thanissaro, 2014b, 742):

> . . . something that can help you in tough times when you have lot of stress. Like, I had exams a few months ago and, like, I was just really stressed with it. If I just meditated, I would be better, like straight away.

Finally, Buddhists were more appreciative of their teachers with seven in every ten (70%) saying their teachers did a good job as opposed to less than half (44%) for RUA – possibly reflecting respect for teachers engrained strongly in Buddhist culture (c.f. 68% agreement that 'Buddhists should have respect for those worthy of respect' TSAB question discussed further in Chapter 13).

Sex Differences

A comparison of the Buddhist teens' values regarding school, according to their sex, is presented in Table 10.3.

Table 10.3: Comparison of values concerning school between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	$p<$
I like the people I go to school with	72	59	6.9	.01
I often worry about my school work	46	64	11.8	.01

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at C2, Appendix C.

Sex was a factor of statistical significance for only two of the questions concerning the Buddhist teens' values regarding school. It was apparent that the females were *less* positive regarding their fellow pupils at school than males and that the females were more concerned about schoolwork than the males. Fewer females (59%) than males (72%) agreed that they liked the people they went to school with. Furthermore, nearly two-thirds (64%) of females worried about schoolwork as compared to less than half (46%) of the males.

Age Differences

A comparison of the Buddhist teen values regarding school, according to their age, is presented in Table 10.4.

Table 10.4: Comparison of values concerning school between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
I am happy in my school	70	55	10.1	.01
I like the people I go to school with	73	57	11.9	.01
My school is helping me prepare for life	68	35	25.8	.001
I am worried about being bullied at school	26	9	18.4	.001
Teachers do a good job	69	53	10.9	.01

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at C3, Appendix C.

There were some significant age-differences in Buddhist teens values regarding school,[2] in that those in their early teens were more positive than those in their late teens about school and their education for five of the eight questions. Where seven-tenths (70%) of the Buddhists were happy in school in their early teens, the figure had dropped to 55% by their late teens – possibly due to the increased workload, as illustrated by the comments of Maya, a 15-year-old Srilankan Buddhist (Thanissaro, 2013b, 13):

> (I said to my 11-year-old brother)…I swear your life is just about to be over… (this year I've got) 21 exams – I am going to *die*….I used to think I had it tough, to colour in (pictures of laboratory) apparatus! Please! Don't get me started – (now) I am … up all night doing Greek essays.

[2] For Tables 10.4 and 10.9, as the age-differences in attitude to school seemed disproportionately large, I tried recalculating results for only the 358 Buddhist teens still in full- or part-time education at school. Results for this subset were no different in their level of significance to the results displayed in both tables.

Where almost three-quarters (73%) of those in their early teens liked the people they went to school with, the figure had dropped to less than three-fifths (57%) by their late teens. Where over two-thirds of those in their early teens (68%) thought school to be helping them prepare for life, the figure had almost halved (35%) by their late teens. This sense of school knowledge making little actual difference to vocational skills was expressed by Vari, a 20-year-old Thai Buddhist who at the end of his education claimed (Thanissaro, 2013b, 13):

> People can just do nothing – like, just don't go to school and they still turn out to be something very useful (when they grow up) …school is of *some* use, but only to a certain extent.

The fear of bullying also diminished with age – the figure of just over a quarter of those in their early teens worried about being bullied at school (26%) dropping to less than a tenth (9%) by the late teen years. Respect for teachers, however, which was expressed by almost seven out of ten of those in their early teens (69%) had diminished to just over half (53%) of the Buddhists by their late teens.

Socio-economic group

When comparing the Buddhist teen values regarding school, according to their SEC, none of the questions concerning school showed significant differences *(See Table C4, Appendix C for full table)*.

Religious style

A comparison of the Buddhist teen attitudes regarding school, according to their religious style found significant differences for four of the eight questions.

Table 10.5 : Comparison of values concerning school between heritage & convert Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	$p<$
I am happy in my school	77	40	52.3	.001
I like the people I go to school with	77	47	34.8	.001
My school is helping me prepare for life	74	31	63.9	.001
Teachers do a good job	70	49	15.1	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at C5, Appendix C.

As shown in Table 10.5, over three-quarters (77%) of HBT claimed to be happy in school compared with only two-fifths (40%) of CBT. Over three-quarters of HBT (77%) liked their fellow pupils compared with less than half (47%) of CBT. Twice as many HBT (74%) as CBT (31%) thought school was helping preparing them for life. Seven-tenths (70%) of HBT thought teachers to be doing a good job compared to less than half (49%) of CBT.

Conclusion

The profile of Buddhist teen values concerning school shows that Buddhists in general found school less boring, praising the work of teachers more highly and although they were less inclined than most children to *like* the other pupils attending their school, tended to worry less about exams and schoolwork. Teachers were cited as being the best thing about living in Britain – since, according to Natcha, an 18-year-old Thai girl (Thanissaro, 2013b, 13):

> (British teachers) will try in every possible way to help you…to get good results.

Any unhappiness at school, where expressed by Buddhist teens has generally concerned having no friends, problems with English as a second language and monotonous teaching – for example Jessica, a 15-year-old Cambodian Buddhist complained (Thanissaro, 2013b, 13):

> Like sometime [*sic*], when I first come here (to the UK) and I couldn't speak English, so they just ignored me.

Schools give the impression to some Buddhist teens of being more worried about their place in the league tables than addressing their pupils' worries about their future career (Thanissaro, 2014c, 321). These findings portray a more positive school experience for Buddhist teenagers than came across in focus groups with a similar sample where many of the teens felt hampered by their struggle with English as a second language and related negative anecdotes about their schools (Thanissaro, 2013b, 13). The Buddhist males liked their fellow pupils significantly more than the Buddhist females and were less worried about schoolwork than the females. Disillusionment with school seemed to set in with age for Buddhists in a similar way to that described by Barry (2001) and Halsall (2004, 303) who showed that even in the short interval between the ages of 13 and 15 years, a similar phenomenon could be observed. The Buddhists became less happy with school, less sure school

was preparing them for life and less likely to think teachers were doing a good job as they became older. The greater negativity of those in their late teens compared to those in their early teens regarding these issues can be seen as a cause for concern. Those in their late teens had started courses towards A-levels and university entrance, and seemed more cynical about school than those in the initial years of secondary school, failing to see the relevance of what they were learning for their future. The only consolation for increasing age seemed to be a decreased degree of worry about being bullied. Bullying where mentioned, has often been due to poor English proficiency – some of Buddhist teens thought bullying was not dealt with effectively – in the words of Jasmine, a 13-year-old Thai Buddhist (Thanissaro, 2013b, 13):

> (Bullies just) get suspended from school for two weeks and then they come back and nothing happens…

Others thought pupils failing to conform, to some extent brought bullying on themselves – again in the words of Maya (Thanissaro, 2013b, 13):

> It is like if you don't comply with what they expect, they (peers) will bully you..

The school experience showed no difference according to SEC which is at odds with previous findings such as those of Archer and Yamashita (2003) and Reay et al. (2001) who would lead us to expect those of higher socio-economic groups would have a more positive attitude towards education and their school experience. The lack of such a difference between SECs in Buddhists commends schools for 'levelling the playing field' for Buddhists across the socio-economic groups. Indeed, there is an extent to which education is seen in Buddhism as one of the main forces enabling social mobility – in the words of a celebrated Thai master of meditation (Dhammakaya Foundation, 2003, 33):

> Education can change a student's life for the better – knowledge is the king's heritage available to the common man. It brings us benefits for life…

Finally, there were several ways in which heritage Buddhists were more positive about their school experience than convert Buddhists – with significantly more claiming to be happy in school, like their fellow pupils, feel that school was preparing them for life and think teachers to be doing a good job. However, for heritage Buddhists, the enthusiasm for education was accompanied by increased anxiety concerning examinations. Worries concerning bullying were at a lower level than was reported in both Halsall (2004, 300) and Francis (2001c, 33). Females were not more positive about school as might by expected from previous research (e.g. Darom & Rich, 1988; Fitt, 1956; Francis, 1992; Halsall, 2004, 302; Richmond, 1985). On the

contrary, the Buddhist females had more of a tendency to worry about schoolwork corresponding with previous findings for teenagers in general (Halsall, 2002; 2005) and to dislike their fellow pupils.

Having examined the Buddhist teen values regarding school in general, special attention is now given to Religious Education as a school subject.

Part 2: Religious Education

Overview

Although at the time of writing, Religious Education (RE) in England is threatened by government re-organization of the National Curriculum, the experience of Buddhist teens in this study will have included RE taught as a legal requirement. RE in the first decade of the 21st century has been based on a policy of pluralism where Buddhists should be amongst the religious traditions helped to feel included by their experience of RE. Preliminary qualitative research with (mostly heritage) Buddhist children and parents growing up in the UK (Thanissaro, 2011b) highlighted the high expectations parents placed on school RE to fill the gaps in Buddhist knowledge left by imperfect nurture into their tradition by parents and temples in a country where Buddhism is a tiny minority. In that research, the impression was of dissatisfaction with the portrayal of Buddhism in RE with reference to serious dissonance between school presentation and home practice.

Table 10.6: Overview of Attitudes to Religious Education

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
Collective Worship (e.g. assemblies with a theme) should be held in school	28	50	22
RE helps me understand different religions	67	23	9
I learn new things about my own religion in Religious Education	34	27	39
Religious Education helps people in my school respect other peoples' beliefs	70	22	7
Religious Education is an essential part of a broad & balanced school curriculum	55	32	13
Religious Education in my school helps me understand my religion	43	31	26
Religious Education should be taught in school	63	31	6

Given the previous doubts Buddhists had expressed about RE, the overall impression given by the results of this study are refreshingly positive for RE stakeholders. As shown in Table 10.6 almost three-tenths (28%) of Buddhist teens thought Collective Worship (CW) should be held in school but half (50%) remained undecided. The effectiveness of RE in helping these Buddhist teens to understand about religions *other* than Buddhism seemed quite high with two-thirds (67%) agreeing that RE helped them understand different religions and seven-tenths (70%) agreeing that RE contributed to respect for others' beliefs. RE seemed to feature less highly in its contribution to the Buddhist teen understanding of *their own* religion however, with more disagreeing (39%) than agreeing (34%) that they learned new things about Buddhism from RE at school and only two-fifths (43%) agreeing that RE helped them understand Buddhism. On the whole, however, more than half (55%) of Buddhist teens thought RE an essential part of a broad and balanced curriculum and almost two-thirds (63%) thought RE should be taught in school with very few (6%) disagreeing with teaching of the subject.

Religious Affiliation

Table 10.7 : Comparison of values concerning RE between Buddhist and non-Buddhist adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Non-Budd.*	χ^2	p<
RE helps me understand different religions	78	45	47.7	.001
I learn new things about my own religion in Religious Education	47	27	19.4	.001
Religious Education helps people in my school respect other peoples' beliefs	77	47	39.6	.001
Religious Education is an essential part of a broad & balanced school curriculum	58	29	40.2	.001
Religious Education in my school helps me understand my religion	58	32	30.7	.001
Religious Education should be taught in school	68	44	25.6	.001

**from Thanissaro (2012a, 207), Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at C6, Appendix C.*

To examine aspects of attitude to RE that were particular to Buddhist identity, Table 10.7 shows a comparison between the values of the Buddhist adolescents compared to the values on the same questions asked by Thanissaro (2012a, 207) of 13- to 15-year-old non-Buddhist adolescents. Buddhists adolescents showed a more positive attitude to RE on all questions except for the question concerning CW. Buddhists were more likely to say RE helped them understand different religions with 78% agreement in comparison to only 45% for the non-Buddhists. Buddhists were more likely to say they learned new things about Buddhism in RE, with 47% agreement as opposed to only 27% agreement for non-Buddhists. Buddhists were more likely to say RE helped people in their school respect other peoples' beliefs with 77% agreement as compared to only 47% for non-Buddhists. Buddhists were more likely to say RE was an essential part of a broad and balanced curriculum with 58% agreement as compared to only 29% for non-Buddhists. Buddhists were more likely to say RE helped them understand Buddhism with 58% agreement as compared to

only 32% for non-Buddhists. Buddhists were more likely to say RE should be taught in school with 68% agreement as compared to only 44% for non-Buddhists. For Buddhists, RE was popular as a subject, but it would seem to be chiefly a means of learning sensitivities concerning *other* peoples' religions. Taking all seven RE questions together, operationalizing attitude to RE as the scale dubbed 'ScAttRE-s' (Thanissaro, 2012a) Buddhists (M_{budd}=25.50, S.D. = 5.06) scored significantly higher than non-Buddhists ($M_{non\text{-}budd}$=22.62, S.D.= 5.83, t(514)=5.46, p<.001).

Sex Differences

Table 10.8: Comparison of values concerning RE between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	p<
Religious Education helps people in my school respect other peoples' beliefs	66	76	3.9	.05

Yates correction applied. Full table at C7, Appendix C.

As shown in Table 10.8, for only one question concerning attitude to RE was there a significant difference between males and females. Females were more likely to agree that RE helped people in their school respect *other* peoples' beliefs with over three-quarters agreeing (76%) as compared to two-thirds (66%) for males.

Age Differences

Table 10.9: Comparison of values concerning RE between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	p<
Collective Worship (e.g. assemblies with a theme) should be held in school	34	21	7.2	.01
RE helps me understand different religions	75	58	12.5	.001
I learn new things about my own religion in Religious Education	43	24	14.4	.001
Religious Education helps people in my school respect other peoples' beliefs	76	64	6.5	.05
Religious Education in my school helps me understand my religion	53	32	18.0	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at C8, Appendix C.

As shown in Table 10.9 for five of the seven attitude to RE questions, there was a significant decrease in positive attitude to RE as Buddhists moved from their early teens to their late teens. Where a third of those in their early teens (34%) thought CW should be held in school, only a fifth of those in their late teens (21%) thought the same. Three-quarters of those in their early teens (75%) thought RE helped them understand different religions in comparison to less than three-fifths (58%) of those in their late teens. RE did more to help those in their early teens learn new things about Buddhism (43%) and understand Buddhism (53%) than it did for those in their late teens (24% and 32% respectively). Finally, over three-quarters of those in their early teens (76%) felt RE helped people in their school respect others' beliefs in comparison to less than two-thirds (64%) of those in their late teens.

Socio-economic Group

None of the Buddhist teen attitudes to RE showed a significant difference in terms of SEC. *(For full table see C9, Appendix C)*

Religious Style

As shown in Table 10.10 HBT were more positive about RE than CBT on five of the seven of the questions. HBT were twice as positive about CW with 36% of HBT

Table 10.10: Comparison of values concerning RE between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	heritage	convert	χ^2	$p<$
Collective Worship (e.g. assemblies with a theme) should be held in school	36	18	13.2	.001
RE helps me understand different religions	74	53	16.7	.001
I learn new things about my own religion in Religious Education	42	20	17.4	.001
Religious Education helps people in my school respect other peoples' beliefs	79	56	22.6	.001
Religious Education should be taught in school	70	51	12.9	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. For full table see C10, Appendix C.

thinking CW should be held in school compared with only 18% of CBT. Almost three-quarters of HBT (74%) thought RE helped them understand different religions as compared with little over half (53%) of CBT. Twice as many HBT learned new things about Buddhism (42%) in RE as did CBT for whom only one-fifth (20%) could say the same. Almost four-fifths of HBT (79%) thought RE helped respect for others' beliefs in comparison to little over half (56%) for CBT. Finally, where seven-tenths (70%) of HBT thought RE should be taught in school, little over half (51%) of CBT could say the same.

Conclusion

This profile of values regarding RE shows that Buddhist teens have a significantly more positive attitude to RE than non-Buddhists in terms of the ScAttRE-s measure as a whole and in terms of all of the constituent questions except for that regarding the necessity of CW. Although previous research has revealed that Buddhist pupils thought RE teachers lacked expertise in Buddhism – in the words of an 18-year-old Thai Buddhist (Thanissaro, 2011b, 67):

> The teacher don't [*sic*] really know a lot anyway – so we just read it off [*sic*] the book.

At the very least, the inclusion of Buddhism in RE helped provide Buddhist pupils with an English vocabulary by which they could express their own religion to peers (Thanissaro, 2011b, 70-71) – and it would be expected that the benefits of this new learning would be more noticeable for Buddhists in their early teens than in their late teens and for HBT more than CBT. Usually it is to be expected that females would have a more positive attitude to RE than males [e.g. Lewis and Francis (1996), Tamminen (1996) and Thanissaro (2012a)] but this was not found to be the case for Buddhist adolescents where females were more positive only for one question concerning the utility of RE in helping respect others' beliefs – that is, the tolerance of diversity. Amongst Buddhist teenagers, positive attitudes towards RE were observed to diminish with age on all questions except for the teaching of RE in school and inclusion of RE as part of a broad and balanced curriculum. There was no significant difference in attitude towards RE across SECs, but in terms of religious style, there was a significantly more positive attitude to RE among HBT than amongst CBT for all questions, *including* that referring to CW. The findings show a more positive response to RE than has been found for Buddhists in previous qualitative research. RE may offer Buddhists little more than an English-language vocabulary for their religion but it also helps demonstrate a welcoming of religious

diversity in a way that may boost self-esteem for religious minorities such as Buddhists.

Having examined values concerning Buddhist teen education, their values with relation to social issues are now considered.

Chapter 11

Findings - Social Issues

Bob, a 15-year-old White Buddhist boy -

"Our hopes have gone downhill, haven't they? It is like the more you find out [about the world] the worse it is really…."

explaining a sense of impotence about improving social conditions in the world (Thanissaro, 2014c, 320-321)

Introduction

This chapter presents empirical findings on patterns of Buddhist teen attitudes to social issues. Conceptualizing the aspects of life that form a social interface for teenagers might lead us to examine attitudes concerning the media through which they communicate with and learn about the rest of the world, and teenagers perception of prejudice in their own and others' social judgment. The social interface would also extend to a sense of responsibility for current social and global affairs and the degree to which the young people value social capital in their lives. Accordingly, this chapter contains four parts – describing findings in terms of 'stereotyping and discrimination', 'social concern', 'the media' and 'collectivism'.

In previous research concerning attitudes to stereotyping and discrimination, the *Bildungsroman* fiction genre has popularised itself through the popular fascination with the growing pains of marginalized adolescents. It is important to draw a line between literature and reality however, since adolescents have been identified as a group suffering from negative stereotyping (Smith, 1970), but were nonetheless guilty themselves of stereotyping others (Coffield, Borrill & Marshall, 1986, 211; Lewis 1996, 16). Young people have been shown to feel discriminated against and stereotyped both by society and the media. Although young people are not unduly racist, they have voiced the observation that Black people seem to be targets of more racism than Asians (Halsall, 2004, 412). Some people resented feeling as if they were no more than 'possessions' to their parents (Lewis, 1996).

In previous research, adolescents have been shown to take little interest in social issues (Henriksson, 1983). Nonetheless, it has been demonstrated that young people are more drawn to television programmes that contain violence (Wober & Gunter, 1982) – indicating a lack of concern by young people over the level of violence screened on television. On the aspect of the environment however, in keeping with the prediction that they will be heirs to planetary pollution left behind by the present generation (Furnham & Gunter, 1989), previous research has confirmed concern by as many as two-thirds of young people about pollution of the environment (Francis, 1984, 97; 2001c, 45) although environmental concern has since continued to diminish (Halsall, 2004, 414). Also on the topic of poverty in the Third World, five times as many young people were concerned as remained undecided (Francis, 2001c, 45). Young people have also previously been shown to be concerned about the consequences of nuclear war (Simmons & Wade, 1984) — and more recently it has been shown that three times as many young people are concerned about this issue than the number who remain undecided (Francis, 2001, 45). Young people expressed concern about issues of human and animal life (e.g. fox hunting) and about Third World poverty (Halsall, 2004, 414). Young people also expressed concern about the environment, pollution, violence and guns, drugs, pride and greed in society (Lewis, 1996, 78).

In previous research concerning attitudes to media and technology, young people have been shown to be avid consumers of the media – especially television and music, admitting the impact the media had on them in terms of mood and

advertising (Lewis, 1996, 17) and considered themselves more sophisticated media consumers than the young people of twenty years earlier. They estimated identification with celebrities to be less important to them (Halsall, 2004, 413). It has also been noted that amongst TV addicts (here defined as young people who watched more than 4 hours of TV per day) – a particular values profile could be observed which included lower personal wellbeing, dissatisfaction with leisure time, less worry about relationships, less personal support from parents and close friends, less positive views of school, less tendency to believe in conventional religion, but more tendency to believe in superstition, more conservative views of sexual morality, but more permissiveness with regard to violence and pornography on TV (Francis, 2001c, 200).

In previous research concerning attitudes to collectivism as introduced in Chapter 5 (p.126-7), there is often an underlying assumption that the advancement of a society can be measured in terms of the degree to which its members adopt individualistic and democratic values (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005, 49). This assertion has been challenged by advocates of social capital and community cohesion (even in the western world). Comparison of values in collectivist or communitarian societies has led to a more nuanced understanding of the social forces at play in collectivist societies by distinguishing between societies that are more or less tolerant of inequality in society (Singelis et al., 1995). Since there is an expectation that collectivist values might be shared by young people of Asian heritage, irrespective of religious affiliation, it is instructive to examine the degree to which collectivism alone is

statistically linked to aspects of Buddhist identity, and whether Buddhists conform to the World Values Survey assertion that collectivist values impede social advancement.

Having sketched a vignette of various aspects of attitudes to social issues in previous research with religiously undifferentiated teens, attitudes to social issues are now examined for Buddhist teens under the subheadings of stereotyping and discrimination, social concern, the media and collectivism.

Part 1: Stereotyping and Discrimination

This first part of the chapter describes two related parts of the value-areas of stereotyping and discrimination that are important to most young people – although from the ranking conducted in Thanissaro's (2013b) focus groups with Buddhist teens, discrimination as a value area was not raised spontaneously by teens. Nonetheless, on closer questioning, Buddhist teens did seem to have acquaintance with and opinions about stereotyping of young people and ethnic minorities, together with less extreme sorts of discrimination.

As young people in general may be marginalized by society (Coffield et al., 1986) teens may experience age-related discrimination from other people (Lewis, 1996), while being guilty of harbouring some prejudices themselves in the context of family, education, employment, policing and protest (Bhattacharyya & Gabriel, 2004). This assessment of Buddhist teen values regarding stereotyping and discrimination consisted of six questions. The first question explored the extent to

which the Buddhist teens held racially[1] prejudiced views, namely by asking whether they believed there to be too many 'foreign' people in the United Kingdom. The next two questions examined the Buddhist teen perceptions of levels of racial discrimination in the United Kingdom, with relation to Asian people and White people. The remaining questions examined the 'age-ist' issue of the degree to which Buddhist teens felt they were respected and listened to by adults. The final question dealt with the extent to which Buddhist teens felt young people were portrayed negatively by the media. Following an overview of the Buddhist teen's values regarding stereotyping and discrimination, these values were examined according to the Buddhist teenagers' religious affiliation, sex, age, socio-economic group and religious style.

Overview

Table 11.1: Overview of Buddhist teen values on stereotyping & discrimination

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
There are too many foreign people in the UK	22	39	39
In the UK there is a lot of discrimination against Asian people	39	42	19
In the UK there is a lot of discrimination against White people	9	35	56
Adults do not respect young people	30	40	30
Adults do not listen to young people	41	37	22
The media make young people look bad	48	40	12

Despite there being some ironic discussion (previously unpublished) in some of the focus groups about whether HBT considered themselves 'foreign' (some had been born overseas) and commenting that this was 'the sort of question White researchers would ask', as shown in Table 11.1, for the Buddhist teens as a whole, over a fifth

[1] Anthias and Yuval-Davis (1992) definition of racism as 'the idea and practices of inferiority and subordination and to the structuring of social relations between groups defined in racial terms'

(22%) agreed there were too many foreign people in the UK – with almost twice as many (39% for each of the other two categories) not certain or disagreeing with this statement. To offer further clarity to their responses, most of Thanissaro's 2011-2012 focus group participants had supported foreign immigration to the UK because they had observed that stereotypically the NHS was run almost completely by 'foreigners' – mostly Asians – and no-one could argue against this being a good thing. They said the UK would be boring without social diversity. The one group which did agree that there were too many foreigners aimed their comments mainly at the long-term problems of non-UK Europeans who paid no taxes in the UK but were entitled to discounted university fees and at incompatibility of cultures (people not understanding each other). Comparing the perceived levels of discrimination towards Asian people as compared with White people, the teens (a high proportion [53%] were Asian of some description) thought there was over four times as much discrimination against Asians (39% agreement) as against Whites (9%) – while almost three times as many disagreed that there was discrimination against Whites (56%) than disagreed that there was discrimination against Asians (19%). According to previous research (Thanissaro, 2014a, 5), prejudice experienced by Buddhist teens seemed to come more in the form of stereotyping than discrimination – with Buddhists being grouped, in others' eyes, with other Orientals in a way resembling the Pan-Asianism described by Zhou and Lee (2004, 14) in the U.S.. The relative harmony of Buddhist family life that has been described in previous chapters was also borne out in there being less than a third (30%) thinking that adults failed to

respect young people, and a slightly larger proportion (41%) who felt that they were not listened to by adults. Almost half the Buddhist teens (48%) felt that the media made young people look bad.

Religious Affiliation

For all of these value preferences, it is only valid to conclude that patterns reflect Buddhist religiosity if a significant difference can be shown between Buddhists and non-Buddhists, or at least between Buddhists and religiously-undifferentiated respondents. Table 11.2 shows a comparison between the values of the Buddhist teenagers compared to the values on the same questions asked by Halsall (2004, 313, 323) of 13- to 15-year-old RUA.

Table 11.2: Comparison of values concerning stereotyping & discrimination between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	$p<$
There are too many foreign people in the UK	26	37	6.8	.01
Adults do not respect young people	31	47	14.9	.001
Adults do not listen to young people	40	65	44.5	.001

**from Halsall (2004) p.313, 323. Yates correction applied. Full table at D1, Appendix D.*

Religious affiliation to Buddhism was a factor of statistical significance for three of the six questions concerning stereotyping and discrimination. Buddhists were less prejudiced with a lower proportion considering there to be too many foreign people in the UK (26% agreement as compared to 37% agreement for RUA). Buddhists also seemed to experience less discrimination from adults. Buddhist were less inclined to say that adults did not respect young people (31%) or listen to young people (40%) – percentages that were both lower than for RUA (47% and 65% respectively).

Sex Differences

A comparison of male and female Buddhist teen attitudes regarding stereotyping and discrimination found no questions where a significant difference was noted between the two sexes [*see full table at D2, Appendix D*].

Age Differences

A comparison of attitudes to stereotyping and discrimination for Buddhists in their early and late teens found no questions where a significant difference was noted between the two age groups [*see full table at D3, Appendix D*].

Socio-economic group

A comparison of the Buddhist teen's values regarding stereotyping and discrimination, according to their socio-economic group, is presented in Table 11.3.

Table 11.3: Comparison of Buddhist teen values concerning stereotyping & discrimination across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	$p<$
Adults do not respect young people	31	35	17	6.1	.05

Full table at D4, Appendix D.

Buddhist teens' socio-economic group was a factor of statistical difference for only one of six questions concerning stereotyping and discrimination. Buddhist teens from a family with the breadwinner in an elementary occupation (working class) were less inclined to say adults did not respect young people (17% as compared with those with breadwinners from managerial occupations (31%) or administrative occupations (35%).

Religious style

A comparison of the Buddhist teen attitudes regarding stereotyping and discrimination, according to their religious style found significant differences for two of the six questions between heritage and convert Buddhists.

Table 11.4: Comparison of values concerning stereotyping & discrimination between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	$p<$
There are too many foreign people in the UK	31	10	22.0	.001
Adults do not respect young people	23	40	11.1	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at D5, Appendix D.

As shown in Table 11.4, HBT were three times more likely to agree there were too many foreign people in the UK (31%) than were CBT (10%). HBT were less likely however, to say that adults did not respect young people (23%) than CBT (40%) – possibly to do with mutual respect between parent and child in the heritage family context – HBT being more considerate about the topics they raised with their parents – as illustrated by Maya's comments (Thanissaro, 2013b, 12):

> I know … (White friends) who have such a close relationship – they can tell their parents *everything*. Honest to God! Like I hear, and I'm, "Seriously? You told your mum *that*?"

or generally considering politeness as being part of their practice of filial piety as mentioned in Chapter 9 and this respect being reciprocated by the parents.

Conclusion

In conclusion, it can be said that Buddhists were less likely to baulk at there being large numbers of foreigners in the UK, but on this issue, HBT were less tolerant than CBT. Buddhists were less likely to feel they were disrespected or not listened to by adults – and complaint about disrespect was particularly rare amongst those of lower class SEC and HBT. HBT were also less likely to think the media made young people look bad than CBT. Neither sex nor age were found to be factors of statistical significance for the questions asked about stereotyping and discrimination. Other researchers have commented on disproportionate discrimination against young Asians in the UK (Back, 2004; Sachdev, 1996). To some extent this is borne out by the results of this study that showed Asians to be four times more likely to have discrimination against them than Whites. In this respect, although the community cohesion projects set up as the result of the Ousely and Cantle Reports in the wake of the 2001 race riots have now largely had their funding withdrawn, it would appear that the discriminatory attitudes motivating the original problems have not been dealt with at root. The findings of previous research that women are generally less racist and that class was a factor in racism (Francis, 2001c) were not, however, found to be true for the Buddhist teens. It may be the case, in keeping with Griffin's (2004) observation that there is an overemphasis on problems perceived to be experienced by young people, that young people are generally less marginalized in the 2010s than they were in the latter years of the twentieth century.

Having examined the Buddhist teen's values in this first part of the value-area of stereotyping and discrimination, their values in the next part of this value-area, social concern, is now considered.

Part 2: Social concern

Benny Henriksson's classic study of young people in society concluded that young people displayed apathy towards social issues (Henriksson, 1983). The present survey tested this conclusion by exploring Buddhist teen responses to three kinds of issues of social concern: domestic issues, world issues and a personal sense of being able to make a difference to world problems.

Table 11.5 Overview of Buddhist teen values on social concerns

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
There is too much violence on television	39	40	22
Pornography is too readily available	53	40	7
I am concerned about the risk of pollution to the environment	67	29	4
I am concerned about the poverty of the Third World	63	33	4
I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war	42	42	16
There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems	8	32	60

The first domestic issue explored by the survey concerned violence on the television. According to Cumberbatch et al. (1987), 56% of broadcast programmes in the UK contained violence. The proportion was even higher in the USA (80%). According to Wober and Gunter (1988) adolescents in Britain were more drawn to programmes that contained violence than to programmes that did not. As shown in Table 11.5, the majority of Buddhist teens registered some concern over the level of violence

screened on television. Amongst the Buddhist teenagers, almost twice as many agreed (39%) that there is too much violence on television, as disagreed (22%).

The second domestic issue explored by the survey concerns the availability of pornography. Comparatively little reliable information is available on teenage access to and consumption of pornography (Moore & Rosenthal, 1993). The data from this study demonstrated that there is a greater concern among the Buddhist teens over pornography than over violence on the television. While 22% deny that there is too much violence on television, only 7% deny that pornography is too readily available. While 39% positively agree that there is too much violence on television, with pornography the percentage rises to more than half (53%) agreeing.

The first issue of global concern explored by the present survey concerned pollution to the environment. Furnham and Gunter (1989) predicted that this issue would hold particular saliency among young people 'because they have longer to live in this increasingly polluted and physically damaged world'. The data support this prediction. Over two-thirds (67%) of the young Buddhists expressed concern about the risk of pollution to the environment, compared with just 4% who denied sharing this concern. Nonetheless, over a quarter (29%) of the Buddhist teens had failed to come to an opinion on this issue.

The second issue of global concern explored by the survey concerned the poverty of the Third World. Attitude surveys in this area have been of particular concern to world aid agencies (Spencer & Snape, 1994). The data indicated that an overwhelming sixteen times as many young Buddhists expressed concern about

the poverty of the Third World as denied such concern (67% and 4% respectively). Nonetheless, a third of the Buddhist teens (33%) had failed to come to an opinion on this issue.

The last issue of global concern explored by the survey concerned the risk of nuclear war. The study of attitudes, values and beliefs of young people in 1981 conducted by Simmons and Wade (1984) found a considerable level of concern about the consequences of nuclear war. Changes in the climate of world politics may have eclipsed this concern somewhat. The data supported this view in the sense that concern about the risk of nuclear war took clear third place to concern about environmental pollution and poverty. It was still the case, however, that 2½ times as many Buddhist teenagers were concerned about nuclear war (42%) than denied such concern (16%). Again, over two-fifths of the respondents (42%) had failed to come to an opinion on this issue.

The final indicator in this section demonstrated considerable hope among Buddhist teens that they could make a positive impact on the world where they live. While less than a tenth (8%) subscribed to the view that there was nothing they could do to help solve the world's problems, three-fifths (60%) took a less pessimistic stance.

By way of summary, the data provided a profile of a generation of Buddhist teens who are quite concerned about world issues such as pollution and poverty, but who are slightly less concerned about pornography and violence in the media. On balance they remained hopeful that it is within their power to improve the world in which they live. Nonetheless, values education still has room to consolidate the commitment

of these Buddhist teens towards responsible global citizenship and to address seriously the significant minority who are still making up their minds about where they stand on such issues.

Religious Affiliation

For all of these value preferences, it is only valid to conclude that patterns reflect Buddhist religiosity if a significant difference in preference can be shown between Buddhists and non-Buddhists, or at least between Buddhist- and religiously-undifferentiated respondents. Table 11.6 shows a comparison between the values of the Buddhist adolescents compared to the values on the same questions asked by Francis (2001c, 44) of 13- to 15-year-old RUA.

Table 11.6: Comparison of values on social concern between Buddhist and religiously undifferentiated adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	$p<$
There is too much violence on television	37	20	31.2	.001
Pornography is too readily available	52	32	28.6	.001
I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war	42	55	10.9	.001
There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems	11	24	14.6	.001

**from Francis (2001c) p.44. Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at D6, Appendix D.*

Religious affiliation was a factor of statistical significance for Buddhist adolescents for four of the six questions relating to social concern. On matters of domestic concern, Buddhists expressed more concern than RUA – but for global concerns, the trend was reversed. Buddhist teens were almost twice as concerned about violence on TV (with 37% considering it excessive as compared with only 20% for RUA). From focus groups, the repugnance towards violence on TV came not from thrillers or

horror movies, but the TV news where 'scaremongering' led Buddhist teens to the impression they would 'die of terrorists' (Thanissaro, 2014c, 321). Over half the Buddhist adolescents (52%) thought pornography too readily available compared to less than a third (32%) of RUA. Little over two-fifths of Buddhist adolescents were concerned about nuclear war whereas over half (55%) the RUA expressed concern. Buddhist adolescents felt less impotent in the face of the world's problems with 11% thinking they could do nothing to help solve these, as compared with over double the equivalent percentage (24%) for RUA. This difference in the scope of social concern could be explained either by the trend amongst Buddhists to favour changing peoples' personal qualities rather than reforming laws, rights or governance (Thanissaro, 2013b, 12) or perhaps owes something to a more general despair concerning the direction in which world affairs seemed to be moving.

Sex Differences

Table 11.7: Comparison of values on social concern between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	$p<$
There is too much violence on television	32	46	8.4	.01

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at D7, Appendix D.

As shown in Table 11.7, sex was a factor of statistical significance for only one of the six questions on Buddhist teen social concern. Female Buddhist teens were more critical of violence on TV (46% as compared with 32% for male Buddhist teens).

Age Differences

Table 11.8: Comparison of values on social concern between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	p<
There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems	11	5	4.9	.05

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at D8, Appendix D.

A comparison of values on social concern for Buddhists in their early and late teens found age-differences for only one of the six questions. As shown in Table 11.8, Buddhist teens felt more empowered to help the world's problems as they grew older. Where only 11% of Buddhists in their early teens felt they could do nothing to help the world's problems, the sense of helplessness had halved to 5% by their late teens years.

Socio-economic group

Table 11.9: Comparison of Buddhist teen values on social concern across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	p<
I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war	38	52	32	7.8	.05

Full table at D9, Appendix D.

A comparison of the Buddhist teen's values regarding social concern, according to their socio-economic group, is presented in table 11.9.

Socio-economic group is a factor of significance when considering the Buddhist teen values regarding social concern for only one of the six questions. Those with a breadwinner in an administrative occupation (middle class) were more likely to be concerned about nuclear war (52%) than those with a breadwinner in a managerial (upper class) occupation (38%) or an elementary (working class) occupation (32%).

Religious style

A comparison of attitudes to social concern between CBT and HBT found no questions with significant difference in responses [*see full table at D10, Appendix D*].

Conclusion

In conclusion, Buddhists were more concerned about domestic issues than global issues of social concern but felt more empowered to do something about the world's problems. Female Buddhist teens were significantly more concerned about TV violence than males and the sense of impotence in the face of world problems seemed to diminish with age. Finally, concern about nuclear war seemed to be a more of a 'middle class' phenomenon amongst Buddhists than for other SECs.

Part 3: The Media

In previous focus groups, the media arose as one of the main influences on Buddhist teens in non-religious aspects of their lives – influencing their secular values and attitudes through advertising and portrayal of celebrities. The media also took up large amounts of teen spare time as entertainment, particularly the internet and music, in a way that perhaps detracted from time spent in more religious pursuits. Buddhists identified the internet as tenth in the ranking of most important values in their life (Thanissaro, 2013b, 11). As some background to the subsequent findings,

some of the general questions on the survey revealed the amount of time the Buddhist teens spent using media.

Table 11.10: Percentage of Buddhist Teens spending time daily using media

	None	< 1hour	1-2 hours	3-4 hours	> 4 hours
Internet	6	15	34	22	23
Gaming	61	17	12	4	6
TV/Video	18	28	36	11	7

Although it has been observed that self-evaluation of time spent using media can sometimes lead to overestimates (Fox, 2004, 211), nonetheless Table 11.10 does highlight the many hours Buddhist teens spend daily consuming media in various forms. The highest proportion of Buddhist teens spent 1-2 hours watching TV or videos each day (36%), with only 18% exceeding this. For the internet, however 45% of the Buddhist teens used the internet for three hours or more per day. The majority of Buddhist teens (61%) said they did *not* play video games, with the majority of those who *did* play limiting themselves to less than an hour (17%) or between one and two hours (12%). Interest in the media is by no means limited to teens who are Buddhist. Francis (2001c) has examined the relation between the amount of television watched by young people and their values across a wide spectrum of value-areas. From his analysis, Francis (2001c, 200) concluded that there were significant differences across all value areas between young television addicts and those young people who watched less television. Other studies have illustrated the importance of the media through television to young people in demonstrating that watching television is one of the most common spare-time activities for young people (Fogelman, 1976; Furnham & Gunter, 1983) – although

time spent on the internet might now challenge this. This finding is further confirmed in the present study, in that, as can be seen from Table 11.10, 82% of the Buddhist teens agree that they watch some television in their spare time, but more time is spent on the internet – although theoretically it is possible to do both at once while also playing video games. The questions regarding the media in this study assessed the extent to which the Buddhist teens felt addicted to various forms of media and the extent to which they felt the media influenced them, through television advertising, music and celebrities. The overview of Buddhist teen values regarding the media is followed by an examination of these values according to religious affiliation, sex, age, socio-economic group and religious style as factors of statistical significance.

Overview

Table 11.11: Overview of Buddhist teen Attitudes to the Media

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
I am influenced by celebrities	22	35	43
I cannot imagine life without TV	24	36	40
I cannot imagine life without my music	52	29	19
I cannot imagine life without internet access	51	30	19
I cannot imagine life without video games	19	28	53
Sometimes I buy things because I've seen them on TV	31	29	40
The music I listen to is important to me	61	30	9
The music I listen to influences my mood	64	28	8

Table 11.11 demonstrates that Buddhist teens are avid media consumers. Nonetheless, Buddhist teens felt that celebrities did not have a huge impact on them, with less than a quarter (22%) agreeing they were influenced by celebrities and less than a quarter (24%) agreeing they could not imagine life without TV. Over half (52%)

agreed with the strongly worded question 'I cannot imagine life without my music'. New contenders for the Buddhist teens' attention since the 2001/2004 surveys are the internet and video games – and this survey found that over half (51%) could not imagine life without internet access and almost a fifth (19%) could not imagine life without video-games – which shows that TV has diminished in its relative importance for Buddhist teens, being only half as important to them as the internet or music. TV has an importance for Buddhist teens comparable to video games. The TV remains influential nonetheless, since nearly a third (31%) agreed that they sometimes buy things because they have seen them advertised on television. The importance of music to the Buddhist teens is further emphasised through the finding that 61% agree that the music they listen to is important to them. They also concede that the media in these forms has an important impact on them. With relation to music, almost two-thirds (64%) agree that the music they listen to influences their mood. In previous research there has been some evidence for parental control of media use amongst Buddhist teens (Thanissaro, 2013b, 12-13) with excessive use of video games, online social networking, the internet and music being mentioned as issues that typically attracted parental disapproval.

Religious Affiliation

For all of these value preferences, it is only valid to conclude that patterns reflect Buddhist religiosity if a significant difference in preference can be shown between Buddhists and non-Buddhists, or at least between Buddhists and religiously-undifferentiated respondents. Table 11.12 shows a comparison between the values

of the Buddhist adolescents compared to the values on the same questions asked by Halsall (2004, 335) of 13- to 15-year-old RUA.

Table 11.12: Comparison of values concerning the media between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated respondents

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	p<
I am influenced by celebrities	26	36	5.8	.05
I cannot imagine life without TV	30	55	38.6	.001
Sometimes I buy things because I've seen them on TV	39	60	28.6	.001

**from Halsall (2004) p.335. Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at D11, Appendix D.*

There were three of the eight questions concerning the media where there were significant statistical differences between Buddhists and RUA – in all cases Buddhists claimed to be less involved with and influenced by the media. Buddhists were less likely to say they were influenced by celebrities (26% as compared with 36% for RUA). Buddhists were more able to imagine life without TV [that is to say, only 30% of Buddhists admitted they could *not* imagine life without TV as compared with 55% for the RUA]. Finally, Buddhists were less likely to say they bought things because they had seen them on TV (39% as compared with 60% for RUA).

Sex Differences

Table 11.13: Comparison of values concerning the media between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	p<
I am influenced by celebrities	18	27	4.2	.05
I cannot imagine life without video games	27	9	19.2	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at Appendix D, D12.

As shown in Table 11.13, two of the questions on media showed statistically significant differences between male and female Buddhist teens. Females were more likely to say they were influenced by celebrities (27% as compared with 18% for males). For

Halsall (2004, 336) the equivalent figures were 43% and 34%. Males however, were three times more likely to say they couldn't imagine life without video games (27% as compared with only 9% for females).

Age Differences

Table 11.14: Comparison of values concerning the media between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	$p<$
I am influenced by celebrities	29	13	15.2	.001
I cannot imagine life without TV	31	15	14.8	.001
I cannot imagine life without video games	27	9	21.5	.001
Sometimes I buy things because I've seen them on TV	36	24	6.4	.05

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at D13, Appendix D.

As shown in Table 11.14, there were four of the eight questions concerning the media for which there were statistically significant differences between Buddhists in their early and late teens. In all cases those in their late teens appeared to be more critical media consumers than those in their early teens. Buddhists in their late teens were less likely to be influenced by celebrities (13%) and buy things they had seen advertised on TV (24%) than Buddhists in their early teens (29% and 36% respectively). Buddhists in their late teens were more able to imagine life without TV (15% agreed they found it difficult to imagine life without TV) and video games (9% agreed they found it difficult to imagine life without video games) than Buddhists in their early teens (31% and 27% respectively). If it is valid to make a distinction between visual media (TV and video games) and audible media (music), Buddhists seemed to experience a diminishing influence from visual media with age, but RUA

in Halsall's sample seemed to experience an increasing influence of audible media with age (2004, 338).

Socio-economic group

In a comparison of the Buddhist teen values regarding the media, there was no significant difference in response to the media questions between the different socio-economic groups (*see Table D14, Appendix D*), and also for the RUA surveyed by Halsall (2004, 340) SEC group was not a factor of statistical significance for the media.

Religious style

A comparison of the Buddhist teen values regarding the media, according to their religious style, is presented in table 11.15.

Table 11.15: Comparison of values concerning the media between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	$p<$
I cannot imagine life without TV	35	9	31.8	.001
I cannot imagine life without internet access	62	33	27.9	.001
I cannot imagine life without video games	24	10	11.8	.01
Sometimes I buy things because I've seen them on TV	40	16	22.5	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at D15, Appendix D.

As shown in Table 11.15 there were four of the eight questions about the media for which there was a significant difference between HBT and CBT. In all cases HBT were more avid consumers of visual media than CBT. HBT had over twice as much difficulty in imagining life without TV (35%), internet (62%) and video games (24%) as CBT (9%, 33% and 10% respectively). Furthermore, HBT were 2½ times as likely to buy things they had seen on TV (40% as compared with 16% for CBT).

Conclusion

The Buddhist teens completing this study were avid consumers of the visual media, music and internet. Furthermore, for many of the Buddhist teens, media in the form of music and internet was of greater importance to them than television. However, although music and internet appeared to be of slightly greater importance to the Buddhist teens, television remained a salient part of their lives. Large proportions of the Buddhist teens also recognised and acknowledged the effect that television and music had on them. Most Buddhist teens in the early years of the twenty-first century typically spend 1-2 hours a day watching TV and a equal length of time, or in excess of this, on the internet. Over a third also spent time, albeit a lesser amount compared to the TV and internet, playing video games. If compared with time spent on daily religious activities (to be outlined in Chapter 13), the media largely dominate Buddhist teen spare time – showing that Buddhist teens are no less secularized than any other sector of the British population. On the whole, Buddhists claimed to be less influenced by the media than RUA – less influenced by celebrities and less likely to buy things they had seen advertised on TV – apart from being less avid TV viewers. Female teen Buddhists, were however, more likely to be influenced by celebrities than males, while males were more avid gamers than females. The transition from early to late teenage seemed to come with a greater independence from the media (except from internet and music) for all the Buddhist teens. Griffin (1993, 138) characterised young people in general as 'a particularly malleable and vulnerable group and as an unusually defiant, knowing and fickle

audience' and for Buddhist teens, the movement seems to be away from malleable and vulnerable towards defiant as they move towards their late teens. Compared with those in their early teens, late teens were less enamoured by celebrities, less addicted to TV and video games and less likely to buy things they had seen advertised on TV. This independence from the media was reversed when seen through the lens of religious style, as being an HBT seemed to correspond with being influenced by celebrities and TV advertisements and being an addict of TV, internet and video games more than was the case for CBT.

Having examined Buddhist teen values regarding the media, the final social issue of collectivism is now considered.

Part 4: Collectivism

Collectivism, simply defined,[2] means the principle of giving a group priority over each individual in it, and is contrasted with individualism. The vertical aspect of collectivism accepts inequality and hierarchy, while the horizontal aspect anticipates people should be similar in most attributes (Triandis, 1995, 44-45). The similar concept of 'allocentrism' means the principle of being concerned with others' interests more than with one's own and is usually contrasted with idiocentrism (Triandis, 1995, 5). Allocentrism is sometimes discussed in terms of its two distinct aspects, interdependence and sociability (Singelis et al., 1995, 249).

[2] A more thorough definition is elaborated by Hui and Triandis (1968).

In previous research, it has been claimed that Buddhism is negatively associated with Vertical individualism (Singelis et al., 1995, 262) – or expressed in a different way, that Buddhists associate power distance and collectivism – they feel the self as part of a collective and are also more willing to sacrifice self as part of an aspect of the collective including doing duties that are distasteful (Singelis et al., 1995, 269). In Thanissaro's focus groups, unpublished data explored collectivism with Buddhist teens through the question of whether a team prize (collectivism) would mean more to them than a personal prize (individualism). From focus groups, no clear answers were obtained as to whether Buddhist teens favoured individualism more than collectivism – necessitating the inclusion of collectivism as part of the present quantitative study. From the point of view of individualism, the Buddhist teens said personal prizes were meaningful because they reflected your true ability (because there were always 'freeloaders' in every team) and survival skills and made their mothers prouder of them. A team prize was only more meaningful than an individual prize in that it allowed them to share their happiness with other people. They concluded that individual and team prizes reflected completely different skills that couldn't really be compared – independence for the former and networking for the latter.

Table 11.16: Overview of Buddhist Teen Values concerning Collectivism

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
I would not sacrifice friendship with others to get ahead in life (interdependence-allocentrism)	55	35	9
I like to live close to my close friends (sociability-allocentrism)	56	35	9
I would do what pleases my family, even if I detest that activity (Vertical Collectivism)	40	38	21
I am a unique individual (Horizontal Individualism)	70	27	3
It annoys me when other people perform better than I do (Vertical Individualism)	24	36	40
The wellbeing of my fellow students/workers is important to me (Horizontal Collectivism)	69	29	2
I think it is important to learn at least one Asian language	54	33	13
I would want to go and live in Asia some day	43	36	21

As shown in Table 11.16, in the present study, Buddhists seemed to score highly in terms of collectivism both of the horizontal and vertical varieties. Two-fifths (40%) of Buddhist teens said they would do what pleased their family even if they detested that activity, with little over one-fifth (21%) disagreeing with this statement [demonstrates Vertical Collectivism] in keeping with comments made earlier about the importance to them of praise by significant others (Thanissaro, 2014b, 737). Clearer still was the level of importance lent to the well-being of fellow students or workers which attracted almost seven-tenths agreement (69%) and almost negligible disagreement (2%) [demonstrates Horizontal collectivism]. Buddhist teens scored relatively low on vertical individualism with less than a quarter (24%) saying they were annoyed when others performed better than them and two-fifths (40%) disagreeing with the statement in keeping with the comments of Bob, a 15-year-old CBT that he did not take rivalry at school personally (Thanissaro, 2014c, 321):

> At my age, it is like everyone is trying to get on with it and do well.

For horizontal individualism, there was a high degree of agreement with some seven-tenths (70%) agreeing that they were a unique individual and an almost negligible proportion disagreeing (3%). In terms of allocentrism, Buddhist teens seemed to show interdependence and sociability in almost equal measure. On the measure of interdependence, more than half the Buddhist teens agreed they would not sacrifice friendship with others to get ahead in life (55%), with less than a tenth (9%)

disagreeing with this statement. On the measure of sociability, more than half the Buddhist teens agreed they would like to live close to their close friends (56%), with less than a tenth (9%) disagreeing with this statement.

There were two questions designed to interrogate the degree to which Buddhists felt rooted in Asia geographically or through its languages, in keeping with Buddhism having its origins in Asia. Over half of the Buddhist teens (54%) agreed that they thought it important to learn at least one Asian language, with only 13% disagreeing with this. Slightly fewer of the Buddhist teens, that is just over two-fifths (43%), agreed that they would want to go and live in Asia some day, with over one-fifth (21%) disagreeing with this. According to unpublished data from Thanissaro's focus groups, the connection with Asia still provoked nostalgia for many of the HBT but not to the same extent for the children of mixed families, those who were UK born or those who had not learned an Asian language. Not wanting to go to Asia seemed to stem from the feeling that they were an outsider when visiting.[3]

Sex Differences

There were no significant differences in attitude towards collectivism between male and female teen Buddhists *(Full table at D16, Appendix D.)*

[3] Unfortunately a religious affiliation dataset for collectivism was no longer available for comparison.(pers. comm. Triandis, January 2015)

Age Differences

Table 11.17: Comparison of collectivist values between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	p<
I think it is important to learn at least one Asian language	61	46	8.8	.01

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at D17, Appendix D.

As shown in Table 11.17 only one of the questions concerning collectivism showed a statistically significant difference according to age. The inclination to learn an Asian language seemed to diminish with age – where over three-fifths of Buddhists in their early teens (61%) wanted to learn at least one Asian language, the percentage had dropped to less than half (46%) by their late teens.

Socio-economic group

Table 11.18: Comparison of Buddhist teen collectivist values across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	p<
I would do what pleases my family, even if I detest that activity (V-C)	33	42	53	6.8	.05
It annoys me when other people perform better than I do (V-I)	28	17	30	6.4	.05
I think it is important to learn at least one Asian language	46	59	68	9.2	.05
I would want to go and live in Asia some day	34	48	57	10.0	.01

Full table at D18, Appendix D.

As shown in Table 11.18, there were four of the eight collectivism questions for which socio-economic group was linked with statistically significant differences in responses for the Buddhist teens. Buddhist teens from elementary class families scored most highly on the question indicating vertical collectivism with more than half agreeing they would do activities that pleased their family even if they detested them (53% as compared to 42% for administrative class families and 33% for managerial class families). Buddhist teens from administrative class families scored

significantly lower on the vertical individualism question with less than a fifth (17%) saying it annoyed them when other people performed better than them (as compared with 28% from managerial class families and 30% from elementary class families). Valuing Asian culture seemed more prominent in the elementary class families with more Buddhist teens from elementary class families saying they thought it important to learn an Asian language (68%) and wanting to go and live in Asia some day (57% - as compared with only 59% and 48% respectively from administrative class families and 46% and 34% respectively from managerial class families).

Religious style

Table 11.19: Comparison of collectivist values between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
I would do what pleases my family, even if I detest that activity (V-C)	54	25	28.6	.001
The wellbeing of my fellow students/workers is important to me (H-C)	75	61	7.9	.01
I think it is important to learn at least one Asian language	72	27	69.8	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at D19, Appendix D.

As shown in Table 11.19 there were three of the eight collectivism questions for which religious style showed statistically significant differences in the responses of Buddhist teens – for all these questions, HBT demonstrated higher levels of collectivism than CBT. HBT were over twice as likely as CBT to be vertical collectivist – where more than half of the HBT (54%) said they would do detestable activities to please their family, only a quarter (25%) of CBT could say the same – which corresponds with Singelis et al.'s (1995) conclusion that Asians should score higher

than Europeans on Vertical Collectivism. HBT were more likely to agree with the horizontal collectivism statement about peer wellbeing with ¾ of HBT agreeing they found their fellows' wellbeing important (75%) as compared with little over three-fifths (61%) for CBT. Finally, as HBT by definition had more of a connection with Asian lineage, it was to be expected that HBT were almost three times as likely to find learning an Asian language important (72% as compared with 27% for CBT). Interestingly, there was no difference in the intention to go and *live* in Asia between HBT and CBT.

Conclusion

Unfortunately, no direct comparison data for collectivism in a religiously-undifferentiated UK population was available, so this section has only been able to make internal comparisons between Buddhists, while bearing in mind that the UK as a whole is one of the most individualistic countries in the world (Triandis, 1995, 3). It is to be expected that for any general population, more religious and lower class people will exhibit more collectivist values (Triandis & Gelfand, 2012). Those of the elementary socio-economic group were more likely to do things they detested if their family required it (V-C) and were more likely to want to learn an Asian language and want to go and live in Asia some day. Those of the administrative socio-economic group were less upset by competitiveness (V-I). When comparing religious style, HBT scored higher on V-C and H-C – that is they tended to do tasks they detested if required by their family, were more likely to care for their fellows

and were more interested to learn an Asian language. The perceived importance of learning an Asian language was also seen to diminish with age for Buddhist teens.

Chapter Summary

In conclusion, Buddhists were generally more tolerant of racial differences although they noticed four times as much discrimination against Asians as against Whites. They felt more likely than RUA to be respected and listened to by adults. Buddhists were more critical of violence and pornography in the media, less worried by nuclear war and although they had less of a feeling of powerlessness in dealing with the world's problems, they seemed more concerned on domestic problems than global ones – focussing on changing people rather than reforming laws, rights or governance. Buddhists spent a large proportion of their time consuming media but estimated that they were relatively uninfluenced by it. Buddhists were high on horizontal and vertical collectivism and low on vertical individualism. Buddhists showed interdependence and sociability in their allocentrism – with HBT being more collectivist than CBT.

Having examined the Buddhist teen values on social issues, their values with relation to moral conscience are now considered.

Chapter 12

Findings - Moral Conscience

Maya, a 15-year-old Srilankan Buddhist

If I were going to drink alcohol . . . in my mind I would be thinking, "This is wrong. If my mum saw me, I would be dead". . . and that would then result in my . . . going, "I'll . . . have some orange juice, thank you very much!"

explaining the way her parents encroached on her conscience when tempted to have a drink with friends (Thanissaro, 2014b, 747)

Introduction

This chapter presents empirical findings on patterns of Buddhist teen attitudes with relation to their moral conscience. Conceptualizing the complex of attitudes, principles and worldviews for teenagers it is necessary to identify not only what helps them distinguish between what is legal or illegal, but more subtly what helps them decide what is ethically appropriate or inappropriate as part of their cultural competency of 'belonging'. Although 'right and wrong' is the usual way this value domain is examined, and is relevant too to Buddhist teenagers, attitudes of compliance might reflect nothing more than fear of police enforcement. To examine the inner workings of the mind that are closer to the self-discipline thought to typify ethicality in Buddhist identity, other aspects such as shame concerning the use of intoxicants, many of which are not considered illegal and traditionalism which is operationalized using ethical dilemmas that are not illegal in the UK such as that of abortion, should also be included in concepts of moral conscience. Accordingly the chapter is in three parts which describe findings concerning the value areas of 'right and wrong, 'substance use' and 'traditionalism'.

Since previous research concerning attitudes to what is right and wrong has shown that the majority of crime is committed by young offenders (Smith, 1995b), with statistics peaking between 15-19 years (Farrington, 1990) it seems pertinent to examine the moral decision-making of young people. Crime has been described as a traditional 'pastime' for young people (Coffield, Borrill & Marshall, 1986). In the interest of reducing criminal behaviour, research has tended to deal only with right

and wrong as defined by the law (Francis, 2001c, 50-51) although Roberts (1996) has described a 'scale of wrongness' for 12-19 year olds where minor transgressions (such as selling cigarettes to underage children) are deemed more acceptable than major ones. In decreasing order of perceived seriousness, shoplifting was seen as the most serious misdemeanour, followed by cycling at night without lights, writing graffiti, playing truant, travelling on public transport without a ticket, buying cigarettes under the legal age and buying alcohol under the legal age. Only half the respondents thought the police did a good job (Francis, 2001c, 51-52). For moral behaviours involving conscience more than criminality, more than half (56%) of a sample of British adolescents disagreed with killing cuddly[1] animals and hunting (57%). In terms of moral reasoning, two-thirds (66%) believed it was necessary to support the poor and needy.[2] Although they were not Buddhists, almost three-quarters (72%) held an attitude, very similar to that of the Buddhist law of karma, that if they did good deeds, good things would automatically come back to them (Thanissaro, 2010c, 69-70, 74).

In recent years considerable attention has been given by researchers to attitudes concerning use and abuse of intoxicating substances and their health implications (Heaven, 1996; Woodroffe et al., 1993). For smoking, it has been estimated that a quarter of fifteen year olds smoked a cigarette each week (Lader & Matheson, 1991) – and for those that smoked, boys smoked more heavily than girls – although equal

[1] The percentage dropped to 46% if they weren't cuddly or 47% if they were pests.
[2] The percentage dropped to 53% if the question concerned sharing with others in general.

numbers agreed and disagreed with smoking (Francis, 2001c, 48). Binge drinking and also a high incidence of teenage pregnancies were found even in the 11-14 age range as a result of low levels of wellbeing in school in a recent survey of 3,641 British schoolchildren (Phillips-Howard et al., 2010, 27). As for alcohol consumption, 40 percent of young people were reported to have one or more alcoholic drinks each week (Lader & Matheson, 1991), while ten percent of 16-17 year olds were classified as heavy drinkers, even by adult standards (Goddard, 1991) and five percent had consumed more than the recommended weekly adult intake (Balding, 1993). It was perhaps no wonder that in a recent survey of attitudes to alcohol, two-thirds of adolescents thought there was nothing wrong with becoming drunk – more than half (58%) thought it was acceptable to drink in moderation with slightly fewer (53%) thinking it acceptable to drink more. A third (33%) would only drink to be sociable and only a quarter (26%) thought it wrong to drink under any circumstances (Thanissaro, 2010c, 73). There is evidence to suggest that 7 percent of teenagers have smoked marijuana by the age of 13 (Zubrick et al., 1995) although in Francis's UK survey over half considered smoking marijuana wrong with only a quarter condoning its use (2001c, 49). In Canada 15% of 15-19 year olds agreed that they used marijuana at least once a week. Heroin is reported to be used by less than 1% of fifteen-year-olds (Balding, 1993; Smith & Nutbeam, 1992) with three-quarters of adolescents in Francis's UK survey considering use of heroin wrong (2001c, 49). It is estimated that approximately 12% of fifteen-year-olds have abused solvents (Smith

& Nutbeam, 1992) while Balding (1993) put the figure at 7% – corresponding with the figures from Francis's UK survey where 78% thought glue-sniffing wrong and 73% disagreed with sniffing butane gas (2001c, 49). Young people have been shown to hold substance use in negative regard, although high proportions agreed their friends took drugs, smoked cigarettes and drank alcohol (Halsall, 2004, 415).

In previous research concerning attitudes to traditionalism Inglehart and Welzel (2005, 49) have shown, in an analysis of the World Values Survey, covering 85 countries, that 70% of cross-cultural variation in values can be accounted for merely in terms of the economic and democratic status of their home country along two continua of 'traditional-secular/rational' and 'survival-self expression'. Traditional values were indicated by God being important in a person's life, bringing children up to be obedient and religiously faithful rather than autonomous, disagreeing with abortion, having national pride and respect for authority – secular-rational values reflecting the opposite of these. Survival values were indicated by priority of economic and physical security over self-expression and quality of life, being unhappy, rejecting homosexuality, disinterest in petitions and distrust of other people – self-expression values reflecting the opposite of these. In their synopsis, less developed and undemocratic countries would show greater predominance of traditional/survival values whereas wealthy, democratic countries would abound with secular-rational/self-expression values – the implication being that religiosity in a developed country is somehow the vestige of a less privileged national history or that secularization is the natural consequence of human progress.

Part 1: Right and Wrong

'Right and Wrong' is traditionally the name given when analyzing the CentYMCA-style surveys to the values area dealing with the *lawfulness* of young people – although as we shall see for Buddhist teens, right and wrong in matters of conscience may apply to many aspect of personal ethics and tradition that are not governed by national laws. In previous focus group research with Buddhist teenagers, discussions about issues of law revolved around the perception that crimes like rape were underpunished and negative attitudes to the police derived from perceived partiality in police conduct (Thanissaro, 2014c, 323-324). Given the high general incidence of teen crime, it might therefore be expected that a relatively high proportion of teenagers would think nothing of committing minor legal offences. To test this hypothesis, seven misdemeanours ranging from the trivial to the more serious were included in the survey as 'there is nothing wrong in…' statements. The misdemeanours included shoplifting, fare dodging, cycling after dark without lights, playing truant, underage purchase of cigarettes and alcohol and writing graffiti. The section concluded with a question concerning attitude towards the police.

Table 12.1: Overview of Buddhist teen values on Right & Wrong

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
There is nothing wrong in shoplifting	4	22	74
There is nothing wrong in travelling on public transport without a ticket	9	34	56
There is nothing wrong in cycling after dark without lights	8	26	66
There is nothing wrong in playing truant (wagging) from school	8	45	47
There is nothing wrong in buying cigarettes under the legal age (16 years)	7	24	68
There is nothing wrong in buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (18 years)	13	29	58
There is nothing wrong in writing graffiti (tagging) wherever you like	8	29	63
The police do a good job	46	41	12

As shown in Table 12.1, Buddhist teens generally wished to remain law-abiding even for relatively minor infractions of the law. Almost three-quarters of Buddhist teens thought shoplifting wrong (74%), making it the most seriously considered illegal behaviour contained in the survey. Only 4% thought there to be nothing wrong in shoplifting and less than a quarter remained undecided (22%). Less strongly upheld was honesty in travelling on public transport with the proper ticket – little over half (56%) thought it wrong to travel on public transport without a ticket and almost a tenth (9%) thought there to be nothing wrong with fare-evasion. The majority of Buddhist teens were law-abiding when it came to cycling after dark without lights. Only 8% thought it acceptable to cycle without lights at night. Looked at from the opposite perspective, almost two-thirds (66%) refused to condone cycling at night without lights. Just under half (47%) of the Buddhist teenagers felt that playing truant was wrong with almost the same percentage (45%) remaining undecided rather than rejecting such a behaviour. A similar level of judiciousness

was seen in Buddhist teen attitudes towards buying cigarettes under the legal age with 68% disagreeing with the practice, 7% agreeing and just under a quarter (24%) who had not yet arrived at making up their minds. Although it is illegal to sell alcohol to minors under the age of 18, Balding (1993) found that around one in four year-ten pupils had bought alcohol weekly. Notwithstanding, the present data demonstrated that this is a law Buddhist teens saw as strongly binding with 58% disagreeing with the statement, 13% agreeing and almost three-tenths (29%) who had not yet arrived at making up their minds. The majority of Buddhist teens were law-abiding when it came to writing graffiti; only 8% thought it acceptable to write graffiti wherever they liked. Looked at from the opposite perspective, almost two-thirds (63%) refused to condone graffiti. Almost half (46%) of the Buddhist teenagers judged the police to be doing a good job. Only 12% disagreed with the view that the police did a good job with over two-fifths (45%) declining to voice an opinion.

By way of summary, the data provide a profile of a generation of Buddhist teens who are largely law-abiding in respect of the issues included in the survey. Overall their attitude to the police is not entirely positive. Values education could foster proper respect for the law as befits good citizenship and to reinforce the basic goodwill for the law which many Buddhist teens display.

Religious Affiliation

For all of these value preferences, it is only valid to conclude that patterns reflect Buddhist religiosity if a significant difference in preference can be shown between Buddhists and non-Buddhists, or at least between Buddhists and religiously-undifferentiated respondents. Table 12.2 shows a comparison between the values of the Buddhist adolescents compared to the values on the same questions asked by (Francis, 2001c, 50) of 13- to 15-year-old RUA.

Table 12.2: Comparison of values concerning right & wrong between Buddhist and religiously undifferentiated adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	$p<$
There is nothing wrong in travelling on public transport without a ticket	8	20	13.2	.001
There is nothing wrong in cycling after dark without lights	7	17	11.2	.001
There is nothing wrong in playing truant (wagging) from school	5	17	14.3	.001
There is nothing wrong in buying cigarettes under the legal age (16 years)	7	29	38.2	.001
There is nothing wrong in buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (18 years)	11	41	62.2	.001
There is nothing wrong in writing graffiti (tagging) wherever you like	5	13	7.5	.01

**from Francis (2001c, 50). Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at Appendix E, E1.*

On six of the eight questions concerning right and wrong, Buddhists claimed to be more law abiding than RUA. Fewer Buddhists thought there was nothing wrong with travelling on public transport without a ticket (8%) and cycling after dark without lights (7%) than RUA (20% and 17% respectively). Fewer Buddhists thought there was nothing wrong in playing truant (5%) and writing graffiti (5%) than RUA (17% and 13% respectively). Fewer Buddhists thought there was nothing wrong in underage purchase of alcohol (11%) and cigarettes (7%) than RUA (41% and 29% respectively). It is interesting to note that the biggest statistical differences on

the 'right and wrong' statements concerned issues that are not only illegal but broke the fifth Buddhist precept (smoking and drinking).

Sex Differences

Table 12.3: Comparison of values concerning right & wrong between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	p<
There is nothing wrong in cycling after dark without lights	11	4	5.9	.05
There is nothing wrong in buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (18 years)	16	8	5.4	.05

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at Appendix E, E2.

As shown in Table 12.3, for only two of the eight 'right and wrong' statements were there significant differences between male and female teen Buddhists. In both cases male teen Buddhists were less strict in their attitude towards the law than females. Male teenage Buddhists were more likely to say there was nothing wrong in cycling at night without lights (11%) and underage buying of alcohol (16%) than female teen Buddhists (4% and 8% respectively).

Age Differences

Table 12.4: Comparison of values concerning right & wrong between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	p<
The police do a good job	52	39	6.9	.01

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at E3, Appendix E.

As shown in Table 12.4, there was only one of the eight 'right and wrong' statements where there was a statistical difference between Buddhists in their early and late teens – which was a falling away of confidence in the police with age. Where more than half of the Buddhists in their early teens (52%) thought the police did a good

job, by their late teens admiration for the police had dropped to less than two-fifths (39%). Previous research that has indicated that the proportion of pupils absenting themselves from schools tends to increase nearer the school-leaving age (Budgell, 1983; James, 2012; Jones & Francis, 1995) but does not seem to be reflected in the attitudes towards truancy of the Buddhist teenagers.

Socio-economic group

Table 12.5: Comparison of Buddhist teen values concerning right & wrong across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
There is nothing wrong in writing graffiti (tagging) wherever you like	3	9	13	8.6	.05

Full table at E4, Appendix E.

As shown in table 12.5, there was only one of the eight 'right and wrong' statements where there was a statistically significant difference between teen Buddhists across socio-economic groups – which was more permissiveness concerning graffiti among the elementary group (working class)[13%] as compared with the administrative group [9%] or managerial group [3%].

Religious Style

Table 12.6: Comparison of values concerning right & wrong between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
There is nothing wrong in buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (18 years)	9	17	4.3	.05
The police do a good job	54	35	12.2	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at E5, Appendix E.

As shown in Table 12.6 two of the eight 'right and wrong' statements showed statistically significant differences between HBT and CBT. CBT were almost twice as likely to think there was nothing wrong in underage purchase of alcohol (17% as

compared with 9% for HBT). HBT were more likely to think the police did a good job (54% as compared with 35% for CBT).

Conclusion

For all the misdemeanours excepting shoplifting, Buddhists expressed more willingness to abide by the law than RUA, whether it be fare-dodging, cycling at night without lights, playing truant, underage purchase of cigarettes or alcohol, or writing graffiti. Female Buddhist teens were also more law-abiding than male Buddhist teens for the misdemeanours of cycling at night without lights and writing graffiti. Confidence in the police was worryingly seen to diminish with age in Buddhist teens. Graffiti writing was seen as more acceptable in the lower socio-economic groups. HBT, however were less tolerant of underage selling of alcohol than CBT and had more confidence in the police than CBT.

Having examined the Buddhist teen values in this first part of the value-area of 'right and wrong', their values in the next part of this value-area, substance use, is now considered.

Part 2: Substance Use

This part of the chapter presents Buddhist teen values regarding substance use. It has been argued in general that adults are possibly more worried about teenage substance use than the teenagers are themselves and that voicing such concerns may actually make the problem worse (Coleman & Hendry, 1999, 128). With

Buddhist teens, a very different picture had emerged from focus groups where attitudes to intoxicants of various sorts seemed to vary on a spectrum from moderation to zero-tolerance in a way that had been largely internalized (rather than imposed by parents) in line with Buddhist ethical precepts advocating abstention from these substances (Thanissaro, 2014c, 325). The assessment of the Buddhist teen values regarding substance use consisted of six questions probing the perceived 'wrongness' of using tobacco, alcohol, marijuana, heroin, solvents and cigarette-lighter fuel. This part of the chapter presents an overview of the Buddhist teen values concerning substance use, followed by cross-tabulation of these according to the teenagers' religious affiliation sex, age, socio-economic group and religious style.

Overview

Table 12.7: Overview of Buddhist teen attitudes to Substance Use

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
It is wrong to smoke cigarettes	58	28	14
It is wrong to get drunk	41	36	22
It is wrong to use marijuana (hash or pot)	42	37	21
It is wrong to use heroin	66	27	7
It is wrong to sniff glue	58	31	11
It is wrong to sniff butane gas	51	41	8

Table 12.7 presents an overview of the Buddhist teen values regarding substance use. The Buddhist teens seemed consistently negative in their values towards substance use, although there is also a strong element of uncertainty. High proportions of the Buddhist teens agreed it was wrong to use the substances asked about. With relation to use of substances, the lowest proportion of the Buddhist teens agreed it was wrong to drink alcohol. Thus, 41% agreed that getting drunk

was wrong, with 36% uncertain about alcohol and just over two-fifths (22%) who disagreed. The next largest proportion for the Buddhist teens, almost comparable to the figures concerning alcohol, agreed it was wrong to smoke marijuana (42%) or sniff butane (51%). The substances jointly perceived next most harmful were glue and cigarettes – for which almost three-fifths (58%) perceived use to be wrong. The substance perceived as most harmful was heroin (66%).

Religious Affiliation

For all of these value preferences, it is only valid to conclude that patterns reflect Buddhist religiosity if a significant difference in preference can be shown between Buddhists and non-Buddhists, or at least between Buddhists and the religiously undifferentiated. Table 12.8 shows a comparison between the values of the Buddhist adolescents compared to the values on the same questions asked by Francis (2001c, 48) of 13- to 15-year-old RUA.

Table 12.8: Comparison of values concerning substance use between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	$p<$
It is wrong to smoke cigarettes	67	41	44.3	.001
It is wrong to get drunk	52	19	114.2	.001
It is wrong to sniff glue	60	77	25.6	.001

**from Francis (2001c) p.48. Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at E6, Appendix E.*

Being Buddhist was a factor of statistical significance for three of six items concerning substance use. Buddhists were more likely to agree substance use was wrong for cigarettes (67%) and alcohol (52%) than RUA (41% and 19% respectively). Parents were cited as the main reason they avoided smoking (Thanissaro, 2014c, 322) and

drinking (Thanissaro, 2013b, 13). Avoiding smoking was more than just a parental prohibition, however, since the Buddhist teens had reasoned smoking through as being addictive, surplus to needs, deadly (grandparents had died of lung cancer), associated with depression and some claimed not even to want to *marry* a smoker (Thanissaro, 2014c, 323). Particular shunning of cigarettes and alcohol can be explained by the abstention from intoxicating substances included in the Buddhist Five Precepts. This principle does not seem to explain why Buddhist should consider sniffing glue less important (60%) than RUA – it may be that Buddhist children are simply less aware of the potential dangers of solvent abuse.

Sex Differences

A comparison of attitudes to substance use between male and female Buddhist teens found no questions with significant difference in responses [*see full table at E7, Appendix E*].

Age Differences

Table 12.9: Comparison of values concerning substance use between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
It is wrong to smoke cigarettes	66	48	12.1	.01
It is wrong to get drunk	50	31	13.9	.001
It is wrong to use marijuana (hash or pot)	51	33	12.8	.001
It is wrong to use heroin	72	59	6.3	.05

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at E8, Appendix E.

A comparison of the Buddhist teen's values regarding substance use, according to their age, is presented in table 12.9.

Age was a factor of significance for Buddhist teen values regarding substance use. It is apparent that Buddhists in their late teens were more tolerant in their values regarding substance use than Buddhists in their early teens for four of the six questions. Buddhists in their late teens were less likely to say substance use was wrong in the case of cigarettes (48%) and alcohol (31%) as compared with Buddhists in their early teens (66% and 50% respectively). Buddhists in their late teens were also less likely to say substance use was wrong in the case of marijuana (33%) and heroin (59%) than Buddhists in their early teens (51% and 72% respectively).

Socio-economic group

A comparison of attitudes to substance use between Buddhist teens from different SEC groups found no questions with significant difference in responses [*see full table at E9, Appendix E*].

Religious style

Table 12.10: Comparison of values concerning substance use between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	$p<$
It is wrong to smoke cigarettes	71	34	47.9	.001
It is wrong to get drunk	54	20	38.7	.001
It is wrong to use marijuana (hash or pot)	57	23	38.8	.001
It is wrong to use heroin	80	45	45.4	.001
It is wrong to sniff glue	66	49	9.7	.01

Yates correction applied throughout. For full table see E10, Appendix E.

As shown in Table 12.10, religious style was found to be a factor of statistical significance for five of the six questions concerning substance use – in all cases with HBT being less permissive concerning substance use than CBT. HBT were twice as likely to think it wrong to smoke cigarettes (71%) as compared with only 34% for

CBT. HBT were 2½ times as likely to think it wrong to get drunk (54%) as CBT (20%). This was to be expected, since in previous focus groups, HBT had claimed to be teetotallers, thinking drinking pointless as it made you hyperactive, drunk, out of control, depressed and unpopular with the community. For CBT, attitudes had varied from zero-tolerance to moderation, with more issue taken with unhealthy 'reasons' for getting drunk than with the drunkenness *per se* (Thanissaro, 2014b, 747; 2014c, 323). HBT were twice as likely to think use of marijuana wrong (57%) as compared with 23% for CBT. HBT in focus groups hadn't wanted even to *experiment* with marijuana (meaning their parents had already prevailed on their attitudes) and put drugs in general right at the bottom of the list of pointless pastimes – associating drug-use with destitution, although noting ironically, that it had become more acceptable in relatives' families they visited when going to Asia. CBT had thought marijuana acceptable in moderation and according to Rosaly, a 13-year-old CBT marijuana was, "... not as bad as people make it out to be" (Thanissaro, 2014c, 323). HBT were also more likely to think use of heroin (80%) and glue (66%) wrong, as CBT for whom the respective figures were 45% and 49%.

Conclusion

The values of the Buddhist teens with relation to substance use, as explored through this study, are that Buddhist teens are unequivocally negative towards substance use. Buddhists as a whole are more negative about tobacco and alcohol than RUA – but less negative about solvent abuse (although this seemed, on balance to be due

primarily to the views of CBT). Permissiveness towards substance use seemed to increase with age for alcohol, tobacco and drugs. Sex was not a factor of statistical significance for Buddhist substance use, which is notable since previous research has been divided in its conclusions. For the general UK population some research has shown boys to be more permissive about both alcohol and cigarettes (Ben-Shlomo et al., 1991; Francis & Kay, 1995); some has shown girls to be more permissive about both alcohol and cigarettes (Halsall, 2004, 398); some has shown boys to be more permissive about alcohol alone (Marsh et al., 1986), and; some have shown girls to be more permissive about cigarettes alone (Lloyd & Lucas, 1997; National Statistics, 2000). SEC group was not found to be a factor of statistical significance for Buddhist teen substance use, agreeing with findings in the wider British teen population (Halsall, 2004, 401; Hendry et al., 1993). Finally, a greater difference existed between CBT and HBT in their attitudes to substance use (five significant differences) than between Buddhists as a whole and RUA (three significant differences) – which shows at the very least that HBT values concerning substance use seem to prevail even into late teens in a way that CBT values failed to do.

Having examined the Buddhist teen values in the value-area of 'substance use', the traditionalism of their values is now considered.

Part 3: Traditionalism

Overview

Table 12.11: Overview of Buddhist teen attitudes to traditionalism

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
Traditional values *(secular-rational values emphasize the opposite)*			
God is very important in my life	17	38	45
It is important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith	54	32	13
It is important for a child to learn to be independent and self-determined®	77	22	1
Abortion is never justifiable	21	46	33
I have a strong sense of national pride	39	40	21
I respect those who are in authority	55	36	10
Survival values *(self-expression values emphasize the opposite)*			
I would not describe myself as happy	14	35	51
Homosexuality is never justifiable	7	41	52
I would never sign a petition	5	42	54
You have to be very careful about trusting people	66	29	5

According to the scheme of Inglehart and Welzel (2005, 49) agreement with the first five statements of Table 12.11 indicates traditional values,[3] whereas disagreement indicates secular-rational values. In the case of it being important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith (54% agreement), having a strong sense of national pride (39% agreement) and respecting those in authority (55% agreement), the Buddhist teenagers had elements of traditional values, but since they also thought it important for a child to learn to be independent and self-determined (77% agreement), more disagreeing (33%) than agreeing (21%) that abortion never be justifiable and with the majority tending to disagree that God is important in their lives (45%) they also have elements of secular-rational values. Furthermore, agreement with the latter four statements of Table 12.11 is claimed to indicate survival values, whereas disagreement indicates self-expression values. In the case of the Buddhist teenagers, only in the case of not trusting other people (66% agreement)

[3] Excepting the question about being independent and self-determined which is reverse-coded.

were survival values demonstrated. On all the other questions, whether it be disagreement that they were not happy (51% disagreement), that homosexuality is never justifiable (52% disagreement) and never signing a petition (54% disagreement), the Buddhist teenagers showed a stronger affinity for self-expression values. Surprisingly, this would place the Buddhist teenagers of Britain on the cultural map as a traditional version of the English-speaking self-expression cultures, more than the predominantly survival values of South Asia or the overarching secular-rational values of the Confucian cultures (Inglehart & Welzel, 2005, 63). Alternatively, the unidimensional paradigm of WVS dependent on attitudes towards democratization and economic prosperity may not be sufficiently nuanced to explain the full variety of attitudes seen – possibly further light could be thrown on the WVS construct by considering the Buddhist attitude to collectivism as described in the previous chapter.

Religious Affiliation

Table 12.12: Comparison of traditionalism between Buddhists and religiously-undifferentiated young people* (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	*p*<
It is important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith	54	29	34.8	.001
It is important for a child to learn to be independent and self-determined®	77	67	6.7	.01
I respect those who are in authority	55	69	12.0	.001
I would not describe myself as happy	14	3	18.6	.001
Homosexuality is never justifiable	7	15	9.6	.01
I would never sign a petition	5	11	6.6	.01

**Comparison data from UK 18- to 29-year-olds from the WVS (2005) cohort questions V192, V19/21, V12, V204, V209, V78, V10, V202, V96 and V23. Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at E11, Appendix E.*

In this comparison, WVS data (World Values Survey, 2005),[4] was compared with responses on the same questions in Likert 5-point scale format for Buddhist teens. As shown in Table 12.12, there were statistically significant differences between Buddhist teens and the comparison group on six of the ten traditionalism questions. Buddhists were more likely to find it important for children to learn obedience and religious faith (54%) but also for children to learn to be independent and self-determined (77%) as compared with religiously-undifferentiated young Britons (29% and 67% respectively). This is not so much a contradiction of the definition of faith, but includes the questioning of faith out of interest (e.g. Thanissaro, 2014b, 739) and is the opposite of blind faith. Buddhists were less likely to respect those in authority (55%) but more likely to admit to being unhappy (14%) as compared with religiously-undifferentiated young Britons (respectively 69% and 3%). Finally, Buddhists were less likely to be intolerant of homosexuality [self-expression](7%) and less likely to refuse to sign a petition [democratic values](5%) .

Sex Differences

None of the traditionalism questions showed a significant difference between male and female Buddhist teens. *(See full table at E12, Appendix E)*

[4] UK wave 5 database in the age range 18-29 with *n*=229

Age Differences

Table 12.13: Comparison of the traditionalism of Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	p<
It is important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith	63	44	14.9	.001
I respect those who are in authority	62	46	10.6	.01
Homosexuality is never justifiable	10	3	7.0	.01

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at E13, Appendix E.

As shown in Table 12.13, there were three of the ten traditionalism questions where there were significant differences between Buddhists in their early and late teens. Those in their late teens were more inclined towards secular-rational values than those in their early teens. Less than half of those in their late teens thought it important for children to learn obedience and religious faith (44%) or respect those in authority (46%) compared to over three-fifths of those in their early teens (63% and 62% respectively). Those in their late teens were also more inclined towards self-expression values – with three times less of those in their late teens (3%) agreeing that homosexuality was never justifiable as for those in their early teens (10%).

Socio-economic group

Table 12.14: Comparison of Buddhist teen traditionalism across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	p<
It is important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith	50	56	70	6.2	.05

Full table at E14, Appendix E.

As shown in Table 12.14, there was only one of the ten traditionalism questions where there was a statistically significant difference between Buddhist teens of different socio-economic groups. On the traditional value of considering it important for children to learn obedience and religious faith, significantly more elementary

class families agreed (70%) as compared with administrative class families (56%) and managerial class families (50%).

Religious style

Table 12.15: Comparison of traditionalism between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
God is very important in my life	23	7	14.8	.001
It is important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith	74	25	83.1	.001
It is important for a child to learn to be independent and self-determined®	84	64	20.1	.001
Abortion is never justifiable	28	12	13.5	.001
I have a strong sense of national pride	49	24	21.7	.001
I respect those who are in authority	69	34	43.7	.001
Homosexuality is never justifiable	10	1	9.6	.01
You have to be very careful about trusting people	76	47	32.2	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at E15, Appendix E.

As shown in Table 12.15, there were eight of the ten traditionalism questions where there were statistically significant differences between HBT and CBT. Six of these differences showed HBT were generally more inclined towards traditional values than CBT. The remaining two differences showed that HBT were more inclined to survival values than CBT. HBT were three times as likely to agree that God was important in their life (23%) and that children should learn obedience and religious faith (74%) as CBT (7% and 25% respectively). HBT were twice as likely to agree abortion unjustifiable (28%), to be patriotic (49%) and respect authority (69%) as compared with CBT (12%, 24% and 34% respectively). According to previous focus groups, HBT are known to invest more religious authority in spiritual teachers and monastics than CBT who believed more strongly in textbooks (Thanissaro, 2014c, 326). Contrary to the traditionalist trend amongst HBT, HBT were more likely to

agree that a child should be independent and self-determined (84%) than CBT (64%). In terms of survival values, HBT were significantly more likely to say homosexuality was never justifiable (10%) than CBT (1%) and more likely to be cautious about trusting people (76% amongst HBT as compared with 47% for CBT).

Conclusion

In terms of traditional values, Buddhists were keener than the religiously-undifferentiated UK young people for their children to learn obedience and religion, but also to be independent and self-determined (if that is not a contradiction in terms). Buddhists were keener to reject authority. They were more open to homosexuality (being less likely to say homosexuality was never justified) and were keener on democratic values (being less reluctant to sign a petition than young people generally in the UK). Perhaps as a result of the conflict between tradition and secular-rational values, Buddhists were more ready to describe themselves as unhappy. The inclination to be obedient, learn religious faith and respect authority declined with age for the Buddhist teens, but openness to homosexuality increased. Those of the elementary socio-economic group were keener on children learning obedience and religious faith than those of other socio-economic groups. HBT were more likely than CBT to think God important in their lives and for children to learn obedience and religious faith (but also to become independent and self-determined). They were less tolerant of abortion, more patriotic and more respectful of authority – thus on the whole HBT were more traditional although their 'independence and

self-determination' meant some secular-rational values had been assimilated from the individualist cultural mainstream in Britain. HBT were less tolerant of homosexuality than CBT and were less ready to trust other people (more survival than self-expression).

Chapter Summary

Usually, consideration of Buddhist ethicality uses compliance with Five Precepts as its standard – abstaining from killing living beings, stealing, sexual misconduct, telling lies and consuming intoxicating substances. The main remit of this study has been to identify what is *particularly* Buddhist in ethical behaviour and this chapter has revealed an extent to which the legal requirements of the 'right and wrong' section are respected more strictly when they conform with internally held rules of conscience that were probably instilled initially by social or parental pressure, but later became so inseparable from their individual teen conscience, that the respondent would likely say the morally correct action was their *own* choice rather than a social convention. This would explain how Buddhist teens justify the seeming contradiction between being independent and self-determined while conforming to many traditional values. The same internalization of values to the 'conscience' seems to take place with the use of substances particularly earmarked as unwholesome in the Buddhist Precepts that cause disproportionate rejection of behaviours that are considered benign by the cultural mainstream. Thus, it is the

conscience rather than the rule-following that seems special to Buddhists and this is particularly supported by the literal translation of the scriptural word for conscience in Buddhism [*hiri-ottappa*] which means shame of doing unwholesome deeds and fear of the karmic outcome of doing unwholesome deeds rather than fear or shame of being caught.

Having examined the Buddhist teen moral conscience through the values areas of right and wrong, substance use and traditionalism, their religious values are now considered.

Chapter 13

Findings - Religious Values

Manisha, a 14-year-old Srilankan Buddhist girl -

"…if you are a Buddhist, you don't just meditate – but you must follow the way of life as well – not say you are a Buddhist and just meditate without doing the other stuff."

talking about Buddhists' view of the insufficiency of meditation as a sole practice is illustrated by the words of (Thanissaro, 2013b, 10).

This chapter describes empirical findings on religious values in contrast to the content of the foregoing five chapters which have dealt with values expressed in relation to secular issues or at least everyday life. As explained previously in Chapter 5 (p.107) there is a sense in which values cannot strictly be religious, but where if a more current terminology is insisted upon, would include patterns of attitudes that are able to tell us something about the religious worldviews or ideologies of Buddhist teenagers. The non-secular values areas left to be described in this chapter include religious involvement, theistic belief, religious convictions, religion and society, the supernatural and attitude towards Buddhism.

Previously in Chapter 6, I mentioned that involvement with Buddhism is not restricted to temple-going as a lot of informal religious nurture and 'plausability structures' seem to take place through practice in the home (p.149). I have also mentioned that the activities through which Buddhists involve themselves with their religion may differ intra-religiously between heritage style Buddhists (Chapter 3, p.60, 81) and convert style Buddhists (Chapter 2, p.26, 39) echoing the findings in parallel Buddhist congregations in North America that use the same temple in different ways. This chapter sets out in a hitherto unattempted way to *quantify* types of religious involvement for Buddhists.

Since Buddhism is supposed to be the only religion that does not have a creator god as the focus of its faith, it would be expected that atheism would be a reliable identifier strongly linked with Buddhist adherence and a valuable element of discriminant validity. Again, this chapter sets out to investigate these expectations quantitatively.

Previous research conducted in England about religious convictions at four-yearly intervals has charted a decline in attitude toward Christianity and a decline in church attendance among young people (Kay & Francis, 1996) – although in Canada about a fifth of young people stated they were very involved in organized religion and three-quarters were affiliated with a religious group (Bibby, 2001). Young people have been found 'predominantly uncertain' in their values regarding spirituality and religion – without being overtly negative, they express an openness toward religion – although this has been observed to be the case not just for religion, but for all activities concerning social capital (Putnam, 2000).[1] Two-fifths of adolescents (41%) said they believed in God but less than a third (30%) thought Jesus had risen from the dead (Francis, 2001c, 36) – the comparable figures for 2005 were 43% who believed in God (Francis & Robbins, 2005, 221). In the context of being recently bereaved, a religiously undifferentiated sample of British adolescents were found still to turn to Christian beliefs and practices when seeking answers to death, but had their belief in God, especially their concept of a 'just' God shaken by their experience. Adolescents often had the sense of being in contact with the deceased – often inspiring them to study more deeply on the subject of Near Death Experiences (NDEs) or spiritualism. Adolescents were less likely to believe in the existence of heaven, and especially hell, as they became older – and they had less recourse to

[1] Data from the US included political participation, associational membership, religious participation, volunteering, charity, work-based socializing and informal social networks.

spiritual explanations and more recourse to medical explanations for death with age (Clark, 1998). The strongest religious conviction seemed to be that of two-fifths who believed in life after death (45%)(Francis & Robbins, 2005) and a similar proportion who rejected the views that God punishes those who do wrong (42%), that Christianity is the only true religion (47%) and that God created the world in six days (40%)(Francis, 2001c, 36). Young people were resistant to spiritual and religious labels and negative in their perception of their friends' and family's religious values (Halsall 2004, 413). Amongst 17-18 year olds in Canada, religious doubts were ascribed to religion's inability to make people better, claimed infallibility of scriptures and pressures to accept religious teachings. A higher level of doubts was linked with problematic family environments, less parental warmth and strictness (Hunsberger, Pratt & Prancer, 2002).

In previous research on 'religion and society', although among British youth, church attendance has been on the decline, it has been shown that religious beliefs have far from disappeared. Young people still tend to associate themselves with religion and hold religious beliefs but avoid engaging in overt acts of worship or attendance of religious occasions – therefore, religion is not unimportant to young people (Furnham & Gunter, 1989, 138). Similarly in the US, the majority of young people were found to be religious insofar as they were affiliated with a religious group or tradition, but the numbers have been declining since the late 1970s. Of

American adolescents, half regularly participated in religious services or youth groups – the other half, not being religiously active. Religious participation has been shown to decline with age, with girls more active than boys (Smith et al., 2002, 609). The spirituality of young people is not denied, and the reluctance amongst them, to commit to membership of religious institutions (Davie, 1994) has been attributed to their relativism, undifferentiated pluralism and deep suspicion of institutions (Brennan, 2001, 9). More than half (51%) have dissociated Christianity from church attendance (Francis, 2001c, 38). For urban adolescents in 2005 only 28% disagreed that the Church was irrelevant and only 29% agreed that the Bible was irrelevant (Francis & Robbins, 2005, 221). Adolescents from a religiously undifferentiated population have been shown to find church boring (Francis, 2001c, 38). The word 'intrinsic religion'[2] has been used to denote the elements of spirituality that remain when adolescents disassociate their religiosity from church attendance (Allport & Ross, 1967; Richter & Francis, 1998). Adolescents have been shown to feel passionately neither for the Church nor the Bible (Francis, 2001c, 38) and when asked whether they thought Christian ministers did a good job, the majority (46%) were undecided (Francis, 2001c, 39). On the distinction between religion and spirituality, it was found that over a third (36%) found religion irrelevant to their life and a similar proportion (34%) agreed religion had been replaced by science. More regarded themselves as superstitious (33%) than spiritual (20%) or religious (16%)

[2] See full definition in Chapter 4, p.86 of this dissertation

and over half (53%) thought their friends' religion was irrelevant to their lives (Halsall, 2004, 347-8).

In previous research on the 'supernatural' with British adolescents, an eclectic range of 'alternative' spiritualities has been described which extends to New Age therapies (Heelas, 1996), the Occult (Boyd, 1996) and teenage witchcraft (Cush, 2010). Almost as many young people in the UK have been shown to believe in horoscopes [– over a third (36%) for a religiously undifferentiated urban sample in 2005 (Francis & Robbins, 2005, 221)] as believe in God, and two-fifths believe in ghosts (Francis, 2001c, 40), although half are sceptical about fortune telling (Francis, 2001b, 41; Francis & Robbins, 2005, 221). Only a fifth believed in black magic or the Devil and two-thirds denied being frightened about going into a church alone (Francis, 2001c, 41).

Attitude towards Buddhism, the affective component of Buddhist religiosity, has already been introduced (Chapter 7, p.172) but the findings included in this chapter are ground-breaking in describing the first instance of validity testing for this intrument which has only previously been tested in terms of reliability.

This findings chapter contains six parts – including religious involvement, theistic belief, religious convictions, religion and society, the supernatural and attitude towards Buddhism.

Part 1: Overview of involvement with religious activities

A small scale study of heritage Buddhists in Britain found *daily* nurture to include recollection of the Buddha, keeping Five Precepts, tending a home shrine, bowing to parents, chanting and meditation. *Weekly* nurture was found to include visiting the temple to present meals to the monastic community and keeping Eight Precepts. Nurture on special occasions was found to include visits to Buddhist temples, often for festivals in the Buddhist calendar or for the anniversaries of the passing of relatives

Table 13.1: Frequency of involvement in religious activities by Buddhist teens (%)

	Never	*Occasionally*	*Monthly*	*Weekly*	*Daily*
Temple Attendance	2	25	22	32	18
Personal Meditation, prayer, chanting	18	28	12	24	18
Bowing to parents	43	26	3	5	22
Scripture reading	45	34	5	9	6

(Thanissaro, 2011b). As shown in Table 13.1, for Buddhist teens as a whole, the religious activity most often practised was temple attendance – with almost a third (32%) attending on a weekly basis. Temple attendance was cited as one of the marks of being a 'proper Buddhist', as was chanting and frequent meditation (Thanissaro, 2014a, 4). Temple attendance was advantageous because teens could meet experts able to instruct them in Buddhism face-to-face in a setting conducive to learning (Thanissaro, 2014a, 8) and experience a deeper sense of peace (Thanissaro, 2014c, 320). While at the temple, teens were more *focussed* on learning the Buddhist message as in the words of Vari, a 20-year-old Thai Buddhist (Thanissaro, 2014c, 320):

> There is more motivation … if you come to the temple; you *have* to listen.

Also at the temple there was the sense of *belonging* also conducive to learning. In the words of Maya, a 15-year-old Srilankan Buddhist, there (Thanissaro, 2014c, 320):

> … is a nice community that we have in the temple. It is like something we can always depend on. It's by coming to the temple, like with any religious place, you do kind of become a part of the community and it is your second family. It is your 'family away from home'.

Meditation, prayer or chanting was most commonly (28%) practised occasionally, although weekly practice came a close second for just under a quarter (24%) of the respondents. In overview, it was most common for Buddhist teens *not* to bow to their parents (43%), although for those who did, such an expression of respect was practised occasionally (26%) or daily (22%). Most rarely practised was the reading of Buddhist scripture. Most commonly scripture was *never* read (45%), but in the case where scripture *was* read, it was generally studied occasionally (34%). The survey also enquired about the presence of a shrine in the home as focus groups highlighted these as showing 'religious intelligence and virtue in Buddhism' (Thanissaro, 2014b, 743) and they had also been used as a Buddhist identifier in a survey of religious experiences in China (Yao & Badham, 2007). Seven in every ten Buddhist teens (70%) said they had a shrine at home, with the remainder (29%) lacking one. This is a lot higher than the 11% incidence of shrines reported in a RUA population (Thanissaro, 2010b).

Table 13.2: Frequency of participation in religious activities by Heritage Buddhist teens (%)

	Never	Occasionally	Monthly	Weekly	Daily
Temple Attendance	0	30	33	31	5
Personal Meditation, prayer, chanting	8	26	13	28	26
Bowing to parents	21	37	5	6	31
Scripture reading	45	32	6	11	6

Table 13.3: Frequency of participation in religious activities by Convert Buddhist teens (%)

	Never	Occasionally	Monthly	Weekly	Daily
Temple Attendance	3	11	4	39	43
Personal Meditation, prayer, chanting	40	28	11	20	4
Bowing to parents	82	9	1	3	5
Scripture reading	42	40	4	10	5

In order to clarify involvement in religious activities further, results were cross-tabulated according to religious style. As shown in Tables 13.2 and 13.3, this comparison shows that HBT most commonly attended a temple on a monthly basis (33%) [i.e. for special occasions (Thanissaro, 2014a, 8)] but CBT actually attended *more* frequently than this – either daily (43%) or weekly (39%) [and it is likely that this is referring to attendance of a 'Buddhist centre' (Thanissaro, 2014c, 320, 325)]. Heritage Buddhists most commonly had a weekly commitment to some sort of personal meditation, prayer or chanting (28%) – but for CBT, most commonly no practice was done (40%). Where HBT most commonly bowed to parents on special occasions (37%) or daily (31%), CBT tended not to bow at all (82%) – which may mean that the 22% RUA figure cited by Thanissaro (2010a) for RUA bowing to parents in Britain reflects more about traditionalist or collectivist values than about Buddhism *per se*. Scripture reading was most commonly absent from regular practice almost to the same extent for HBT (45%) and CBT (42%). Shrines were twice as common in HBT homes (86%) as in CBT homes (43%).

Conclusion

The most typical religious involvement for Buddhist teens was temple attendance with personal meditation the next most typical. It should be borne in mind that

having a local temple to visit in the UK is a fairly recent phenomenon and has only featured in UK Buddhist life since the 1990s (Thanissaro, 2013b, 11). Bowing to parents and scripture reading were not widespread but having a shrine in the home was a typical indicator of being Buddhist. Where temple attendance was the most typical form of involvement amongst CBT, personal meditation was the most typical involvement amongst HBT. Bowing to parents was relatively typical on an occasional or daily basis amongst HBT, but not at all amongst CBT. Shrines were twice as common in HBT homes as in CBT homes.

Part 2: Theistic beliefs

Classically adolescence has been seen as a time for conversion and crisis in religious beliefs and convictions (Hall, 1904) and this uncertainty has been exacerbated in western society by cumulative decline in religious belief. Against this background the present survey concentrates on six specific theistic issues among Buddhists. The first focuses on the overall level of belief in God. The second focuses on the key tenet of Christianity, namely the resurrection of Jesus. The third focuses on personal belief in life after death. The fourth issue focuses on creationist beliefs. The fifth and sixth questions focus on the exclusive claims of Christianity and Buddhism. The exact nature of the theistic statement 'I believe in God' is unpacked further by the final two questions of this section that coincide with the belief that God does not exist and that God [may exist but] has no role in their salvation.

The results are shown in Table 13.4. Usually, from the results of the first question, Christians would be able to have a clear idea of the relative proportion of theists, agnostics and atheists in their sample. Amongst the Buddhist respondents, 19%

Table 13.4: Overview of Buddhist teen theistic beliefs

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
I believe in God	19	40	41
I believe that Jesus really rose from the dead	7	51	42
I believe in life after death	52	40	9
I think Christianity is the only true religion	1	30	69
I think Buddhism is the only true religion	24	41	35
I believe that God made the world in six days and rested on the seventh	5	37	58
I believe God is vital to my salvation	15	38	47
I believe God exists	20	44	36

would be regarded as theists, two-fifths would be considered agnostic and just over two-fifths (41%) atheist. Buddhists did not tend to believe God had a role in their salvation (47% disagreement), which is not surprising as in scriptural theory, Buddhists are supposed to believe that you must seek out *your own* salvation with diligence [Parinibbâna Sutta (S.i.157)] and be a refuge unto yourself, seeking no refuge outside of yourself [Dhammapada (Dh. verse 380]) and in practice as illustrated by the words of Maya, a 15-year-old Srilankan Buddhist who explained that Buddhists (Thanissaro, 2014a, 5):

> …don't believe in God, but…believe in the philosophy of life and how [it can be improved] through education and stuff.

Only one-fifth of Buddhists (20%) believed in the existence of God - a figure matching that for belief *in* God more closely than the figure for God's role in their salvation. In conclusion, any Buddhist 'belief in God' had more to do with the *existence* of supernatural beings than the role of such beings in their salvation.

Second, the question regarding the resurrection of Jesus from the dead shows that even though Buddhist teens might confuse Jesus rising from the dead with the doctrine of rebirth, over two-fifths (42%) disagreed that this would be true and over half (51%) remained undecided in the matter – showing that in this respect Buddhist truth does not overlap with this central tenet of Christianity. Although 19% might be considered theist from their answers to the first question, only 7% were convinced that Jesus rose from the dead.

Belief in life after death is a conviction shared by most religions, and is entertained amongst the beliefs even of those adhering to no specific religion (excepting strict Humanists). Amongst the Buddhist teens surveyed, over half (52%) believed in life after death, with two-fifths (40%) unsure of the matter and 9% disagreeing.

Only one in every hundred of the Buddhist teens agreed with the exclusivist claim that Christianity is the only true religion, and almost seven-tenths (69%) rejected it. When the equivalent question was put about Buddhism, nearly a quarter (24%) agreed that Buddhism was the only true religion, but perhaps surprisingly, a greater proportion *disagreed* (35%) indicating that exclusivism does not sit particularly happily with a typically open and all-embracing Buddhist worldview. The preferred expression used by Buddhist teens in previous focus groups was that to them, Buddhism is true-*er* than other religions – and the reasons given for this were that Buddhism was special in the way it taught about karma and because it didn't rely on blind faith (Thanissaro, 2014a, 6).

Finally, the creationist assertion that God made the world in six days and rested on the seventh enjoyed very little agreement (5%) amongst the Buddhist teens, with almost three-fifths (59%) rejecting this statement.

By way of summary, the data provide a clear profile of the relative lack of theistic beliefs that characterizes the majority of Buddhist teens. The atheism of Buddhists is very different from the agnosticism of non-religious teenagers in UK society who have not formed an opinion on religious matters – and hence in RE, atheism should be respected as a choice Buddhists have already made rather than a *lack* of religious understanding.

Religious Affiliation

For all of these value preferences, it is only valid to conclude that patterns reflect Buddhist religiosity if a significant difference in preference can be shown between Buddhists and non-Buddhists, or at least between Buddhist- and religiously-undifferentiated respondents. Table 13.5 shows a comparison between the values of Buddhist adolescents compared to the values on the same questions asked by Francis (2001c, 36) of 13- to 15-year-old RUA.

Table 13.5: Comparison of theistic beliefs between Buddhist and religiously undifferentiated respondents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	$p<$
I believe in God	22	41	23.8	.001
I believe that Jesus really rose from the dead	10	30	31.7	.001
I believe in life after death	58	45	10.2	.01
I think Christianity is the only true religion	1	16	26.0	.001
I believe that God made the world in six days and rested on the seventh	7	20	17.3	.001

**from Francis (2001c) p.36. Yates correction applied throughout.*

For all five of the questions concerning theistic belief, there were statistically significant differences between Buddhist adolescents and RUA. Buddhists were around half as likely to believe in God with only 22% believing compared to 41% of the RUA. Buddhists were three times *less* likely to believe that Jesus rose from the dead, with only 10% agreement compared to 30% agreement amongst RUA. Buddhists were more likely to believe in life after death with three-fifths agreement (58%) compared with only 45% agreement for RUA. Buddhists were much less likely to consider Christianity the only true religion with only 1% agreement compared with 16% of RUA. Finally, Buddhists were less than half as likely to believe God created the world in six days, resting on the seventh – with 7% agreement amongst Buddhists compare to 20% agreement amongst RUA.

Sex Differences

None of the male-female comparisons for theistic belief showed statistically significant differences (*Full table at Appendix F, F1*).

Age Differences

Table 13.6: Comparison of theistic beliefs between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
I believe in life after death	57	45	5.1	.05

Yates correction applied. Full table at Appendix F, F2.

As shown in Table 13.6, there was only one of the eight questions concerning theistic belief for which there was a statistically significant difference between Buddhists in their early and late teens. Belief in life after death diminished with age – where 57% of Buddhists in their early teens believed in life after death, the proportion had diminished to 45% by their late teens.

Socio-economic group

Table 13.7: Comparison of Buddhist teen theistic beliefs across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
I believe God is vital to my salvation	7	16	24	10.9	.01
I believe God exists	14	19	32	8.1	.05

Full table at Appendix F, F3.

As shown in Table 13.7 there were two of the eight questions on theistic belief for which there was a statistically significant difference between socio-economic groups of teen Buddhists. Those of managerial class were less likely to believe God existed (14%) or was vital to their salvation (7%) than administrative class Buddhist teens (19% and 16% respectively) or elementary class Buddhist teens (32% and 24% respectively).

Religious style

Table 13.8: Comparison of theistic beliefs between heritage & convert Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	$p<$
I believe in God	25	10	11.2	.01
I believe in life after death	60	40	13.1	.001
I think Buddhism is the only true religion	31	14	14.1	.001
I believe God is vital to my salvation	20	8	9.7	.01
I believe God exists	26	10	13.0	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at Appendix F, F4.

As shown in Table 13.8 there were five of the eight questions on theistic belief for which there were significant differences between HBT and CBT. In all cases, the HBT tended towards stronger theistic belief than CBT. HBT were 2½ times more likely to believe in God (25%) and 1½ times more likely to believe in life after death (60%) than CBT (10% and 40% respectively). The lesser certainty about life after death in CBT is illustrated by the comments of Rosaly, a 13-year-old CBT from previous focus group research (Thanissaro, 2014c, 318):

> If you are Buddhist you don't have to believe in it [life after death] but you can.

HBT were over twice as likely to consider Buddhism the only true religion (31%) as CBT (14%). HBT were over twice as likely to believe God vital to their salvation (20%) and in God's existence (26%) as CBT (8% and 10% respectively).

Conclusion

Atheism is known to be a feature of Buddhist philosophy but quantitative proof of this is scant – similarly unpacking the meaning of theism for Buddhists is hard to find as most of the available literature (e.g. Dhammananda, 2002) explains only what Buddhists are *supposed* to believe. This study offers clear and groundbreaking quantitative evidence that Buddhists are less likely to believe in God, the rising of

Jesus from the dead, God creating the universe and that Christianity is the only true religion. Buddhists are more likely to believe in life after death, although strength of conviction in this diminishes with age. Belief in God is not as taboo in Buddhism as might be expected, however (and there is an issue of language here where by the word 'God', Buddhists might have the Buddha or even monastic teachers in mind, if working from an Asian first language) particularly amongst the lower SEC groups there was a higher degree of belief that 'God' existed and helped in their salvation (possibly syncretism with Hindu beliefs) and generally amongst HBT there was more acceptance of belief in 'God', his existence and role in salvation, but also belief in life after death and that Buddhism was the only true religion. It was interesting to observe that there were no sex differences in Buddhist theistic belief.

Part 3: Religious Convictions

In this part of the chapter entitled 'religious convictions', the first four questions examine issues identified as important by U.S. Buddhist teens (Loundon, 2001, xvi) – the likelihood of choosing to become a monk or nun in the future, whether they considered themselves a 'proper' Buddhist, the need they felt for a spiritual teacher and their openness to practise things from several different Buddhist traditions. Finally, two questions employed previously by Halsall (2004, 347) and Francis et al. (2010) examined Buddhist teen values with relation to their spiritual and religious identities.

Table 13.9: Overview of Buddhist teen values concerning Religious Convictions

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
I would seriously consider becoming a monk or nun	20	43	38
I consider myself a proper Buddhist	38	46	16
I feel the need for a Buddhist spiritual teacher	42	43	15
I like to practise things from several different Buddhist traditions	38	49	12
I am a spiritual person	44	45	12
I am a religious person	44	44	13

As shown in Table 13.9, a fifth of Buddhist teens (20%) would seriously consider becoming a monk or nun – with over two-fifths (43%) undecided and a similar proportion (38%) with no intention to seek ordination in this way. Previous focus group research found only three of the seventy-five participants (i.e. 4%) expressed an overt wish to seek *lifelong* ordination so the figure of 20% in this study would likely include teens intending to participate in temporary forms of ordination to the monastic community such as those organized by temples during the summer vacation. For those who did *not* want to seek ordination reasons included that this was because it hadn't been proposed in their career guidance [HBT] or because they considered it selfish [CBT] (Thanissaro, 2014b, 740).

Previous focus groups identified a subset of highly-motivated Buddhist teens who referred to themselves as 'proper Buddhists'. Those self-identifying as such were characterized by a heightened degree of *practice* (Thanissaro, 2014a, 8) – especially by keeping the Five Precepts strictly, meditating more frequently, chanting confidently each day, not fighting back if provoked, having a strong moral conscience, discussing Buddhism knowledgeably, putting their Buddhism into practice, attending temple regularly, helping without needing to be asked and donating a lot to the temple (Thanissaro, 2014a, 4). They contrasted themselves with 'nominal Buddhists' (Thanissaro, 2014a, 10). Almost two-fifths of Buddhist teens in the present study considered themselves proper Buddhists (38%) with almost half (46%) uncertain and a sixth (16%) unwilling to label themselves so.

Over two-fifths of Buddhist teens (42%) felt the need for a spiritual teacher, as detailed by Thanissaro and Kulupana (2015, 36-7), with a similar proportion undecided on this question – with the practical benefits of such contact with a spiritual teacher illustrated by the words of Sam, a 19-year-old Thai Buddhist (Thanissaro, 2013b, 10-11):

> (The monks as spiritual teachers) keep me thinking what is right and what is wrong, what should be done and what should *not* be done… (without this influence) I wouldn't have the choice about what options I would choose.

Confirming the finding in previous focus group research (Thanissaro, 2014a, 6), over three times as many Buddhist teens were open to learning from different Buddhist traditions (38%) as dismissed the possibility (12%). For Buddhists, as a whole, the same proportions of teen Buddhists considered themselves 'religious' as considered themselves 'spiritual' (both 44%).

Religious Affiliation

For all of these value preferences, it is only valid to conclude that patterns reflect Buddhist religiosity if a significant difference in preference can be shown between Buddhists and non-Buddhists, or at least between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated respondents. Table 13.10 shows a comparison between the values of Buddhist adolescents compared to the values on the same questions asked by Halsall (2004, 347) of 13- to 15-year-old RUA.

Table 13.10: Comparison of spiritual & religious identities between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated respondents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	$p<$
I am a spiritual person	41	19	47.0	.001
I am a religious person	52	14	175.8	.001

**from Halsall (2004) p.347. Yates correction applied throughout.*

For both questions regarding spiritual and religious identities, Buddhist adolescents were more than twice as likely to express a spiritual or religious identity than RUA. Over two-fifths of Buddhist adolescents considered themselves a spiritual person

(41%) as compared with less than one-fifth of RUA (19%). Over half the Buddhist adolescents agreed they were religious (52%) compared with less than a sixth of the RUA (14%). It is interesting to note that Buddhists were more likely to say they were more religious than spiritual, which calls into question the widespread assumption that Buddhism is not so much a religion as the lack of one (McGhee, 2013).

Sex Differences

Table 13.11: Comparison of religious convictions between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	p<
I would seriously consider becoming a monk or nun	24	15	5.2	.05

Yates correction applied. Full table at Appendix F, F5

As shown in Table 13.11 of the six questions on religious convictions, only one question showed a statistically significant difference between male and female Buddhist teens. Male Buddhist teens were more likely to consider seeking ordination (24%) than females (15%) – perhaps pragmatically due to the more limited opportunities available for female Buddhists to ordain in the more traditional denominations of Buddhism.

Age Differences

Table 13.12: Comparison of religious convictions between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	p<
I would seriously consider becoming a monk or nun	16	23	2.8	.05
I am a religious person	50	36	7.5	.01

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at Appendix F, F6.

As shown in Table 13.12, of the six questions on religious convictions, there were only two that showed statistically significant differences in responses between Buddhists in their early and late teens. Those in their late teens were *more* likely to consider becoming a monk or nun with 23% agreement as compared with 16% for

those in their early teens. The Buddhist teens became less likely to say they were 'religious' as they became older. Where half of those in their early teens (50%) considered themselves religious, the proportion had dropped to 36% by their late teens.

Socio-economic group

None of the SEC comparisons for religious convictions showed statistically significant differences (*Full table at Appendix F, F7*).

Religious style

Table 13.13: Comparison of religious convictions between heritage & convert Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	$p<$
I consider myself a proper Buddhist	46	27	12.2	.001
I am a spiritual person	37	58	14.7	.001
I am a religious person	52	30	17.1	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at Appendix F, F8.

As shown in Table 13.13, there were three of the six 'religious convictions' questions for which there were statistically significant differences between the responses of HBT and CBT. HBT were significantly more likely to consider themselves a proper Buddhist (46%) and a religious person (52%) than CBT for whom the equivalent percentages were 27% and 30% respectively. CBT were, however, more likely to consider themselves a spiritual person (58%) than the HBT for whom the equivalent percentage was 37%. Previous qualitative research indicated that CBT were more likely than HBT to object to the word 'religion' used in connection with Buddhism, because they associated religion with social manipulation and world turmoil. Furthermore, the word 'spiritual' seemed to have little meaning for HBT, especially under the age of 16, with this group more likely to use the word 'atheist' to indicate the same worldview (Thanissaro, 2014c, 319). Nonetheless, the difference in use of

self-identifiers by CBT and HBT can possibly be interpreted to mean that CBT have more reference to 'intrinsic' aspects of religion and HBT more reference to 'extrinsic' expressions of religion in the meaning of the words defined by Allport and Ross (1967, 434) in particular reverence of a resident religious community in the same way described by Dawn Overstreet in the Catholic community (Overstreet, 2010, 257). There was not a difference in the importance placed of spiritual teachers despite previous qualitative research indicating that CBT put more store by books and HBT more on a monastic community (Thanissaro, 2014a, 5; 2014c, 322).

Conclusion

Comparisons with non-Buddhists were not available for all the questions concerning religious convictions, nonetheless it was evident that Buddhists as a whole were significantly more likely than RUA to say they were religious and spiritual people. HBT were more likely than CBT to say they were religious rather than spiritual and vice versa – and the inclination to admit to being religious for all Buddhists appeared to diminish with age. Males and those who were older had more inclination to give serious thought to being ordained into a monastic community. Finally, it was HBT who were more likely to think of themselves as 'proper Buddhists'.

Part 4: Religion and Society

Studies concerned with church leaving and religious disaffiliation have drawn a clear distinction between matters of religious faith and belief on one hand and views concerning the institutional church on the other hand (Richter & Francis, 1998). The present study proposes 11 comparable indicators of attitude towards the relationship between Buddhism and society: the relevance of the teachings and the temple for life today, the relationship between Buddhism and the temple, the

modern-day relevance of the temple and teachings, the role of the temple in rites of passage, attitude towards Buddhist clergy and how Buddhism mixes with plans for marriage and perpetuating Buddhism to a future generation, the relationship of faith and scientific fact in supporting Buddhist belief and the importance of vegetarianism to Buddhism.

Table 13.14: Overview of Buddhist teen values concerning Religion & Society

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
I believe that I can be a Buddhist without going to a Buddhist temple	57	31	12
Doing meditation is sufficient as Buddhist practice	50	30	21
The temple community seems irrelevant to life today	11	36	53
Buddhist teachings seem irrelevant to life today	11	26	63
I want my children to grow up to be Buddhist	48	46	6
I would choose to marry someone else who was Buddhist	34	54	12
Buddhist temples are boring	6	32	62
Buddhist monks do a good job	73	26	0
Buddhism depends on blind faith ®	6	50	45
Buddhism has been replaced by Science ®	9	36	55
It is important to be a vegetarian	20	46	34

As shown in Table 13.14, according to the first indicator, the data demonstrate that the majority of Buddhist teens at the time of writing felt little passion about temple-going as contributing to their sense of being a Buddhist – as over half (57%) felt they could be Buddhist *without* attending a temple. As with Edward Bailey's analysis of implicit religion in English (Christian) society (Bailey, 1986; 1997), the majority of Buddhist teens seem to have dissociated Buddhism from temple attendance, although over three-tenths (31%) remained undecided and one in eight (12%) disagreed. Nonetheless, although they might not have felt it necessary to attend, over six-tenths (62%) believed temples not to be boring and over half (53%) thought the temple community still had relevance for contemporary life. Almost three-quarters (73%) gave their vote of confidence to the Buddhist clergy for doing a good job, with just over a quarter (26%) undecided. From previous focus group research, such confidence in the Buddhist clergy seemed to revolve around the initial

degree of sacrifice monks had made in taking ordination and their continued earnest in doing the 'right things' (Thanissaro, 2014b, 740, 745). In terms of rites of passage, almost half (48%) wanted their children to grow up Buddhist and just over a third (34%) wanted to marry a Buddhist.

Notwithstanding possible temple absenteeism, there was still a passionate sense of the importance and relevance of Buddhist teachings that could be taken away and practised in the home. Half the Buddhist teens (50%) considered that meditation alone was sufficient as a Buddhist practice. As many were not sure or disagreed with this statement.

Almost two-thirds (63%) had the conviction that Buddhist teachings remained relevant in a contemporary world. In this respect over half the respondents (55%) disagreed that Buddhism had been replaced by science and almost half (45%) disagreed that Buddhism depended on blind faith. A minority of Buddhists (20%) thought it was important to be vegetarian with over a third (34%) considering vegetarianism irrelevant to being Buddhist and almost half (46%) remaining undecided.

Religious Affiliation

For all of these value preferences, it is only valid to conclude that patterns reflect Buddhist religiosity if a significant difference in preference can be shown between Buddhists and non-Buddhists, or at least between Buddhists and religiously-undifferentiated respondents. Table 13.15 shows a comparison between the values of the Buddhist teenagers compared to the values on equivalent questions asked by Francis (2001c, 38) and Halsall (2004, 347) of 13- to 15-year-old RUA.

For six of the eleven religion and society questions, Buddhists were more enthusiastic about the role of religion in contemporary society except for its involvement with their marriage plans. Fewer Buddhists considered the temple community irrelevant

Table 13.15: Comparison of 'religion & society' values between Buddhist and religiously undifferentiated respondents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.	χ^2	p<
The temple community seems irrelevant to life today	16	27*	10.7	.01
Buddhist teachings seem irrelevant to life today	15	30*	17.8	.001
I would choose to marry someone else who was Buddhist	25	73*	186.5	.001
Buddhist temples are boring	8	51*	120.3	.001
Buddhist monks do a good job	83	35*	164.9	.001
Buddhism has been replaced by Science ®	9	32§	38.4	.001

**from Francis (2001c) p.38, §from Halsall (2004) p.347. Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at Appendix F, F9.*

(16%) than RUA considered the Church irrelevant (27%). Fewer Buddhists considered Buddhist teaching irrelevant (15%) than RUA considered the Bible irrelevant (30%). On the issue of mixing religion with marriage plans, only a quarter of Buddhists would choose to marry a fellow Buddhist (25%) whereas almost ¾ of RUA would choose a church wedding (73%). Only 8% of Buddhists found temples boring whereas over half of the RUA (51%) thought church boring. More than four-fifths of Buddhists though Buddhist clergy (monks) to be doing a good job (83%) whereas little over a third (35%) of RUA thought clergy to be doing a good job. Less than a tenth of Buddhist adolescents thought Buddhism had been replaced by Science (9%), whereas over three-tenths of RUA (32%) thought Christianity had been replaced by Science.

Sex Differences

Table 13.16: Comparison of 'religion & society' values between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	p<
I want my children to grow up to be Buddhist	43	54	5.0	.05

Yates correction applied. Full table at Appendix F, F10.

As shown in Table 13.16, there was only one question concerning 'religion and society' for which there was a statistically significant difference in responses between male and female teen Buddhists. Little over two-fifths of male Buddhists teens wanted their children to grow up Buddhist (43%) compared to over half (54%) of the female

Buddhist teens. There is a possibility that Buddhist females feel more insecure (or long-lived) than males in their old age and for as long as one's son or daughter remains Buddhist it guarantees to some extent that they would provide care for an aging parent in their dotage.

Age Differences

Table 13.17: Comparison of 'religion & society' values between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	p<
Doing meditation is sufficient as Buddhist practice	60	38	20.1	.001
Buddhist monks do a good job	81	64	15.8	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at Appendix F, F11.

As shown in Table 13.17 there were only two of the eleven 'religion and society' questions for which age made a statistically significant difference to Buddhist teen responses. Where three-fifths of Buddhists in their early teens thought meditation sufficient as a Buddhist practice (60%), agreement had waned to under two-fifths (38%) by their late teens. Where over four-fifths of Buddhists in their early teens thought monks did a good job (81%), the percentage had dropped to under two-thirds (64%) by their late teens.

Socio-economic group

None of the SEC comparisons for 'religion and society' values showed statistically significant differences *(Full table at Appendix F, F12)*.

Religious style

As shown in Table 13.18, for seven of the eleven questions on 'religion and society', there were statistically significant differences between the responses of HBT and CBT. Where over half the HBT thought meditation sufficient as a Buddhist practice

Table 13.18: Comparison of 'religion & society' values between heritage & convert Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	$p<$
Doing meditation is sufficient as Buddhist practice	56	36	12.7	.001
Buddhist teachings seem irrelevant to life today	16	4	10.6	.01
I want my children to grow up to be Buddhist	61	29	35.7	.001
Buddhist temples are boring	8	0	10.6	.01
Buddhist monks do a good job	82	59	23.5	.001
Buddhism has been replaced by Science ®	12	3	7.1	.01
It is important to be a vegetarian	13	29	12.7	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at Appendix F, F13.

(56%), CBT were less likely to agree (36%) – possibly favouring a more 'socially engaged' outlook to their Buddhist practice. HBT were more supportive of two aspects of Buddhist identity in that over three-fifths of HBT wanted their children to grow up Buddhist (61%) and over four-fifths thought Buddhist monks did a good job (82%) compared with equivalent percentages of 29% and 59% for CBT. On three aspects, CBT seemed more faithful than HBT, with CBT less inclined to find Buddhist teachings irrelevant in the present day (4%), were never bored in the temple (0%) and rarely thought Buddhism to have been replaced by Science (3%), whereas HBT had less faith/fascination for Buddhism (16%, 8% and 12% respectively). It is likely that the 'engaged Buddhism' that is favoured by many convert Buddhist organizations boosts the relevance of religion in CBT eyes. The competing HBT narrative of Buddhist relevance to the present day described in previous qualitative research, (overlooking some truth claims and certain stories) was to do with its advantage over science of being able to accommodate the supernatural, to give guidance concerning *how* to live life, cope, be peaceful and have mental discipline – and remained relevant since the majority of human problems had not changed at root (Thanissaro, 2014a, 7). Finally, CBT were more than twice as likely to think it important to be vegetarian (29%) as HBT (13% agreement). In previous qualitative research, HBT had put a finer point on vegetarianism with more emphasis on

avoiding eating meat that had been slaughtered specifically for them (Thanissaro, 2014b, 746).

Conclusion

In comparison with as close as reasonably possible equivalent questions on 'religion and society', it appeared that Buddhists were less likely to find their religious community and teachings irrelevant or having been replaced by science than RUA. They were also less likely to involve religion in their marriage plans. Buddhists had more confidence in clergy than RUA but this confidence diminished with age. Female Buddhists were keener than males that their children grew up Buddhist. Buddhists in their late teens were more likely than Buddhists in their early teens to consider meditation insufficient as a Buddhist practice. There were no differences across SECs concerning the 'religion and society' questions. CBT were more likely than HBT to see the pertinence of Buddhism to the present day – favouring engaged Buddhism and vegetarianism. HBT were more likely to want their children to grow up Buddhist (harking back to the importance of perpetuating structures described for HBT in Chapter 3) and to admire the professionalism of Buddhist monks.

Part 5: The Supernatural

As the traditional religious climate of a Christian culture has eroded, a more eclectic range of beliefs has attracted popular attention. Such beliefs range from New Age therapies (Heelas, 1996) to dabbling in black magic (Boyd, 1996). In order to examine the extent to which Buddhist teens inhabit a world which allows for the supernatural, degree of belief in the following phenomena were included in the survey: horoscopes, ghosts, fortune-tellers and contact with the spirits of the dead. More sinister phenomena were also included with questions about black magic and the Devil. A

more general apprehension of the natural and supernatural world was accessed by questions about going into a church or temple alone.

Table 13.19: Overview of Buddhist teen values concerning the supernatural

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
I believe in my horoscope	19	49	32
I believe in ghosts	35	39	26
I believe in angels	27	41	33
I believe in the Devil (Mara)	22	41	33
I believe in black magic	12	43	45
I believe fortune-tellers can tell the future	11	48	41
I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead	23	49	28
I am frightened of going into a temple alone	15	28	56
I am frightened of going into a church alone	14	38	48

As shown in Table 13.19, in the case of these Buddhist teens, there is about the same strength of belief in horoscopes as there is belief in God [i.e. 19%] (although as shall be seen from attitude to Buddhism in the final part of this chapter, beliefs in some other aspects of Buddhism are *much* stronger than either of these). The pattern for Buddhist teens was generally one of scepticism concerning the supernatural. Less than three-tenths (27%) of the Buddhist teenagers believed in angels, less than a quarter believed in the Devil [or at least Mâra, the Buddhist equivalent of the tempter – as defined by Buddhist teens in Thanissaro (2014a, 7)](22%) or that it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead (23%). Only around an eighth (12%) of the Buddhist teenagers believed in black magic [as described by Buddhist teens in Thanissaro (2014a, 7)] or in the ability of fortune-tellers to tell the future, which enjoyed only 11% agreement. Only a small proportion (15%) said they would be frightened to go into a temple alone with a fractionally smaller proportion frightened to go into a church alone (14%). The only supernatural phenomenon for which belief was stronger than disbelief was concerning ghosts where almost two-fifths (38%) believed in ghosts and little over a quarter (26%) dismissed them. This bears out the findings in previous qualitative research where many of the Buddhist teens were able to

recount first-hand encounters with ghostly presences in graphic detail – for example, the experience of Tea, a 15-year-old Thai Buddhist (Thanissaro, 2014a, 6-7):

> When I was young, I was on the back of a motorcycle at night and they were in pursuit—…they were black shadows, tall and thin…as if they'd been dried out…I was terrified, but I kept looking back at them. I can't remember anything else from that time, but the picture of those ghosts is still clear in my mind.

– and the estimation is that such experiences are much more common amongst healthy Buddhists than is generally acknowledged by the mental health profession since 15% of Buddhists with religious experiences categorized these as contact with other-worldly presences (Thanissaro & Kulupana, 2015, 34-5). By way of summary, the data provide a profile of a generation of young people who have not rejected the world of the supernatural to inhabit a materialistic and mechanistic universe – however, for horoscopes, angels, the Devil, black magic, fortune-tellers, contacting spirits of the dead and going into places of worship alone, more remained unconvinced than convinced by supernatural phenomena. Only on the question of ghosts did the balance tip in favour of belief rather than disbelief and this phenomenon seemed more multifarious in its aspects than could be explained away by the normal socio-psychological attribution of projection of denial for the loss of loved ones (Day, 2013).

Religious Affiliation

For all of these value preferences, it is only valid to conclude that patterns reflect Buddhist religiosity if a significant difference in preference can be shown between

Buddhists and non-Buddhists, or at least between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated respondents. Table 13.20 shows a comparison between the values of the Buddhist teenagers compared to the values on the same questions asked by Francis (2001c, 40) of 13- to 15-year-old RUA.

Table 13.20: Comparison of values concerning the supernatural between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	$p<$
I believe in my horoscope	23	35	9.7	.01
I believe in black magic	10	20	9.2	.01
I believe fortune-tellers can tell the future	12	19	5.4	.05
I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead	23	31	4.6	.05
I am frightened of going into a church alone	21	11	14.5	.001

**from Francis (2001c) p.40. Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at Appendix F, F14.*

There were five of the nine supernatural questions for which there were statistically significant differences in responses between Buddhist adolescents and RUA – with Buddhists tending to believe *less* in supernatural phenomena than RUA except in the case of being scared of going into a church alone. Buddhists were less inclined to believe in horoscopes (23%), black magic (10%), the efficacy of fortune tellers (12%) and contacting the spirits of the dead (23%) than RUA for whom the equivalent percentages were 35%, 20%, 19% and 31% respectively. This dismissal of the supernatural amongst Buddhists in the West, may be indicative of a secularizing trend in Buddhism (Thanissaro, 2014a, 6, 10). There may be an artificially low level of belief in the supernatural amongst Srilankan HBT because they are 'not supposed' to believe in such things (see Thanissaro, 2014a, 7 and note 3). Almost twice as many Buddhists were scared of going into a church alone, however (notice that Buddhists did not believe less than RUA in ghosts) with 21% expressing fear compared to only 11% for RUA.

Sex Differences

Table 13.21: Comparison of values concerning the supernatural between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	$p<$
I believe in my horoscope	15	24	5.2	.05
I believe in ghosts	28	43	8.6	.01
I believe in angels	21	33	6.4	.05

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at Appendix F, F15.

As shown in Table 13.21, there were three of the nine questions concerning the supernatural for which there were statistically significant differences in the responses of male and female teen Buddhists – in all cases with females believing more strongly in supernatural phenomena. Female teen Buddhist were more likely to believe in their horoscopes (24%), ghosts (43%) and angels (33%) than the male teen Buddhists for whom the respective percentages were 15%, 28% and 21%.

Age Differences

Table 13.22: Comparison of values concerning the supernatural between Buddhists in their early and late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	$p<$
I am frightened of going into a church alone	18	10	5.2	.05

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at Appendix F, F16.

As shown in Table 13.22, there was only one of the nine questions about supernatural phenomena where there was a statistically significant difference between the responses of Buddhists in their early and late teens. Where 18% of Buddhists in their early teens were afraid to go into a church alone, the percentage had dropped to 10% by their late teens.

Socio-economic group

As shown in Table 13.23, there were six of the nine questions concerning supernatural phenomena where there were statistically significant differences in the responses of Buddhist teens from different socio-economic groups – in all cases with those from

Table 13.23: Comparison of Buddhist teen values concerning the supernatural across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	p<
I believe in ghosts	26	46	42	12.0	.01
I believe in angels	19	31	36	8.1	.05
I believe in the Devil (Mara)	15	29	23	8.0	.05
I believe in black magic	7	12	23	8.7	.05
I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead	17	30	26	7.1	.05
I am frightened of going into a temple alone	9	23	19	10.7	.01

Full table at Appendix F, F17.

the managerial class families least convinced about the existence of supernatural phenomena. Administrative class families were more likely to believe in ghosts (46%), the Devil (29%), contacting spirits of the dead (30%) and fear going into a temple alone (23%) than those from elementary class families (respectively 42%, 23%, 26% and 23%) or managerial class families (26%, 15%, 17% and 9% respectively). Elementary class families were more likely to believe in angels (36%) and black magic (23%) than administrative class families (31% and 12% respectively) or managerial class families (19% and 7% respectively). It appears likely that the managerial socio-economic group dismiss the idea of the supernatural along with adopting a more secular-rationalist worldview thought compatible with upward social mobility in the UK.

Religious style

Table 13.24: Comparison of values concerning the supernatural between heritage & convert Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	p<
I believe in angels	30	20	4.7	.05

Yates correction applied. Full table at Appendix F, F18.

As shown in Table 13.24, there was only one of nine questions concerning the supernatural for which there were statistically significant differences in the responses of HBT and CBT – with HBT more inclined to believe in angels than CBT. Where three-tenths of the HBT believed in angels (30%), the equivalent proportion for CBT was one-fifth (20%).

Conclusion

Buddhists as a whole were generally less likely to believe in the supernatural (horoscopes, black magic, fortune-telling and contact with spirits) than RUA. Buddhists were more scared to go into a church alone, but this fear diminished with age. Female Buddhists were more likely than males to believe in horoscopes, ghosts and angels. Managerial class Buddhists were less likely to believe in ghosts, angels, the Devil, black magic, contacting spirits and fear going into a church alone than the other socio-economic groups. HBT were more likely than CBT to believe in angels.

Part 6: Attitude towards Buddhism

Attitude towards Buddhism is measured by Thanissaro's Scale of Attitude towards Buddhism (TSAB). Much of the rationale behind choice of questions on the TSAB has already been described by Thanissaro (2011a). However, owing to peer feedback on the compound nature of the question on Sangha Day,[3] a choice of more succinct alternative phrasing has been tested in this study. The purpose of the TSAB is to quantify the *affective* component of Buddhist religiosity and descriptions will by and large be restricted to comparison of these scores (as a whole) rather than individual descriptions of each of the 24 questions on the TSAB. The scale was developed with a RUA sample and the questions are phrased in a way that does not assume the respondent to be Buddhist nor recognize specialist Buddhist terminology.

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[1] Thanks to Dr. Ulrika Svalfors of Uppsala University, who presented a response to an earlier exposition of this research at ISREV 2012 in Finland.

Overview

Table 13.25: Overview of Buddhist teen attitudes towards Buddhism

	Yes (%)	*? (%)*	*No (%)*
I like how Buddhists train their minds through prayer and meditation	76	23	1
I like the way Buddhists offer flowers and incense to statues of Buddha	71	27	2
Eightfold Path seems a good way to achieve happiness	64	35	1
I admire Buddhists for respecting all living things	81	19	0
I find it inspiring to hear Buddhist stories	73	24	3
I like how Buddhists encourage people to become friends on Sangha Day (*with the following alternative wordings*)	68	31	0
• Sangha Day is important to me	45	48	7
• People should be encouraged to be friends	68	28	5
• I like the Buddhist idea of encouraging people to be friends	75	23	2
Spending time as a Buddhist monk is beneficial to the world at large	53	40	7
I like how some Buddhists spend time in meditation as monks or nuns	65	33	2
Buddhists should have respect for those worthy of respect	68	28	4
I like the Buddhist idea of having a calm mind	81	19	0
I respect Buddhists for giving food and money to their monks	75	22	2
I respect the Buddhist idea that understanding is more important than belief	75	24	1
It is important for Buddhists to spend time meditating	73	23	4
It is necessary for us to share what we have with others	72	25	3
Enjoying life or hating it depends on how we see the world	71	26	3
Spending time meditating is a constructive use of one's time	61	34	4
Buddhists should not to kill any sort of animal	66	27	6
It is necessary for us to give support to the poor and the needy	82	18	0
Nirvana is the ultimate peace	59	38	3
Buddhists should avoid drinking alcohol	49	38	12
Buddhists should look after their parents in their old age	76	23	1
People who have helped us a lot deserve our special respect	77	22	2
If a person does good deeds, bad things will come back to them®	11	33	56
I would enjoy killing any sort of animal®	1	18	81

® indicates 'reverse-coding' of the question

As shown in Table 13.25 positive attitude towards Buddhism seemed to equate most strongly with compassion towards living beings (81% agreement with respect for all living beings and 81% disagreement with any enjoyment associated with killing animals), the idea of a calm mind (81%) and support for the poor and needy (82%). Next most pertinent to positive attitude seemed to be prayer and meditation (76% and 73%), offering flowers and incense (71%), Buddhist stories (73%), friendship (75%), understanding rather than belief (75%), offering food and money to monks (75%), sharing with others (72%), gratitude to parents (78%) and those who have helped us (77%) and the subjectivity of happiness (71%). This set of questions can be said to represent the most 'highly affective' questions on the TSAB. The mean score on the TSAB for this sample of Buddhist teens was 96.20 (S.E. 0.648). The

third set of wording for the Sangha Day question [i.e. 'I like the Buddhist idea of encouraging people to be friends'] seemed to be the most discerning indicator of Buddhist attitude.

Religious Affiliation

For all of these value preferences, it is only valid to conclude that patterns reflect Buddhist religiosity if a significant difference in preference can be shown between Buddhists and non-Buddhists, or at least between Buddhist and a religiously-undifferentiated respondents. Table 13.26 shows a comparison between the values

Table 13.26: Comparison of attitude towards Buddhism between Buddhist and non-Buddhist adolescents

	Budd.	Non-B.*	χ^2	$p<$
I like how Buddhists train their minds through prayer and meditation	77	15	189.6	.001
I like the way Buddhists offer flowers and incense to statues of Buddha	80	13	216.8	.001
Eightfold Path seems a good way to achieve happiness	67	16	135.0	.001
I admire Buddhists for respecting all living things	87	19	216.1	.001
I find it inspiring to hear Buddhist stories	75	22	131.5	.001
I like how Buddhists encourage people to become friends on Sangha Day	72	14	168.3	.001
Spending time as a Buddhist monk is beneficial to the world at large	54	8	136.2	.001
I like how some Buddhists spend time in meditation as monks or nuns	66	13	150.5	.001
Buddhists should have respect for those worthy of respect	74	18	148.8	.001
I like the Buddhist idea of having a calm mind	86	33	123.6	.001
I respect Buddhists for giving food and money to their monks	85	22	180.8	.001
I respect the Buddhist idea that understanding is more important than belief	77	20	153.4	.001
It is important for Buddhists to spend time meditating	76	15	185.5	.001
It is necessary for us to share what we have with others	72	25	101.6	.001
Enjoying life or hating it depends on how we see the world	71	33	64.5	.001
Spending time meditating is a constructive use of one's time	54	11	106.9	.001
Buddhists should not to kill any sort of animal	71	18	141.2	.001
It is necessary for us to give support to the poor and the needy	88	29	154.3	.001
Nirvana is the ultimate peace	60	6	181.1	.001
Buddhists should avoid drinking alcohol	54	24	44.2	.001
Buddhists should look after their parents in their old age	83	24	157.4	.001
People who have helped us a lot deserve our special respect	82	32	113.8	.001
If a person does good deeds, good things will come back to them	66	36	9.2	.01
I would enjoy killing any sort of animal®	1	23	39.2	.001

**from Thanissaro (2010c) p.242. Yates correction applied throughout.® indicates 'reverse-coding' of the question*

of the Buddhist adolescents compared to the values on the same questions asked by Thanissaro (2011a, 242) of 13- to 15-year-old non-Buddhists.[4] Buddhists had a more positive attitude to Buddhism than non-Buddhists for every one of the 24 questions from the TSAB. As a whole, the mean score for Buddhist adolescents was 97.04 (S.E. 0.934) and the mean score for non-Buddhist adolescents was 75.76 (S.E. 0.537) which was a significant difference (t=21.036, p<.001 [df=516]).

Sex Differences

None of the comparisons for attitude toward Buddhism questions showed statistically significant differences between male and female teen Buddhists *(Full table at Appendix F, F19).* The lack of any significant difference is interesting because usually females score higher on affective measures of religiosity than males. This lack of sex-differences was also the case for TSAB scores as a whole with male mean TSAB of 95.97 (S.E. 0.854) and female mean TSAB of 96.47 (S.E. 0.992) which was not a significant difference (t= -0.381, [df=415], NS).

Age Differences

As shown in Table 13.27 there were ten of the 24 attitude towards Buddhism questions for which Buddhists in their early teens had significantly higher levels of agreement

Table 13.27: Comparison of attitude towards Buddhism for Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	p<
I like the way Buddhists offer flowers and incense to statues of Buddha	77	65	7.1	.01
I admire Buddhists for respecting all living things	86	76	6.4	.05
Buddhists should have respect for those worthy of respect	74	61	7.2	.01
I like the Buddhist idea of having a calm mind	85	76	5.2	.05
I respect Buddhists for giving food and money to their monks	82	67	11.8	.01
It is important for Buddhists to spend time meditating	77	68	4.4	.05
It is necessary for us to give support to the poor and the needy	87	76	7.2	.01
Buddhists should avoid drinking alcohol	55	43	5.0	.05
Buddhists should look after their parents in their old age	80	70	4.8	.05
People who have helped us a lot deserve our special respect	81	71	5.2	.05

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at Appendix F, F20.

[4]An earlier draft of these figures was presented at ISREV 2014. Thanks to Asst. Prof. Oddrun M.H. Bråten (Sør-Trøndelag University College, Trondheim) for constructive criticism.

than Buddhists in their late teens. The questions where there was a downturn in positivity of Buddhist attitudes included most of the 'highly affective' aspects of Buddhist religiosity identified in the overview section of this chapter part, namely: offering of flowers, incense, money and food, respecting living things, helping the poor and needy, gratitude to parents, benefactors and those worthy of respect, meditation and calm of mind. The only additional aspect seeming eroded by age was judiciousness in avoiding alcohol consumption where agreement dropped from 55% to 43% between early and late teens. The mean TSAB score for those in their early teens was 97.07 (S.E. 0.815) whereas the mean TSAB score for those in their late teens was 95.18 (S.E. 1.032) which was not a significant difference (t=1.436 [df=378.102], NS).

Socioeconomic group

As shown in Table 13.28, there was only one question on the TSAB where there was a statistically significant difference in response between Buddhist teens of different

Table 13.28: Comparison of Buddhist teen attitude towards Buddhism across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	$p<$
Spending time as a Buddhist monk is beneficial to the world at large	45	62	51	7.8	.05

Full table at Appendix F, F21.

socio-economic groups. Those from administrative class families were more positive about the benefits of spending time as a monk (62%) than elementary class families (51%) or managerial class families (45%). The mean TSAB score for managerial class families was 95.61 (S.E. 1.038) whereas the TSAB score for the other classes was 97.22 (S.E. 0.903) which was not a significant difference (t= -1.167 [df=335], NS). In the past, middle-class Buddhists in Thailand have been noted for their particularly strong support of Buddhism as illustrated by the words of a highly-respected Thai master of meditation (Dhammakaya Foundation, 2003, 127):

> …the rich households have always been the least supportive of the monastic community. If people are poor, then they don't have much chance to give alms either. Middle-class people are always the strongest supporters of Buddhism…

Religious style

As shown in Table 13.29, there were 16 of the 27 TSAB questions where CBT had a significantly lower degree of agreement than HBT. All of these questions dealt with

Table 13.29: Comparison of attitude towards Buddhism between heritage & convert Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
I like how Buddhists train their minds through prayer and meditation	80	67	7.9	.01
I like the way Buddhists offer flowers and incense to statues of Buddha	80	58	20.9	.001
I admire Buddhists for respecting all living things	87	71	12.7	.001
I like the Buddhist idea of encouraging people to be friends	80	66	8.0	.01
I like how some Buddhists spend time in meditation as monks or nuns	70	56	7.9	.01
Buddhists should have respect for those worthy of respect	74	58	9.9	.01
I like the Buddhist idea of having a calm mind	87	69	16.9	.001
I respect Buddhists for giving food and money to their monks	84	61	24.0	.001
It is necessary for us to share what we have with others	77	64	7.6	.01
Buddhists should not to kill any sort of animal	74	54	13.9	.001
It is necessary for us to give support to the poor and the needy	88	72	13.4	.001
Buddhists should avoid drinking alcohol	57	33	19.9	.001
Buddhists should look after their parents in their old age	83	64	15.2	.001
People who have helped us a lot deserve our special respect	84	65	16.8	.001

Yates correction applied throughout. Full table at Appendix F, F22.

the 'highly affective' aspects of Buddhist religiosity identified earlier (in the overview [Table 13.25] and the Age Difference section [Table 13.27]) with the addition of alcohol consumption. Taken collectively, the mean TSAB score for HBT was 97.53

(S.E. 0.791) and the mean TSAB score for CBT was 93.92 (S.E. 1.258) which was a significant difference (t=2.430 p<.05 [df=256.4]. It could be conjectured either that the TSAB as an instrument is slightly weighted towards the heritage style of Buddhism or whether CBT are actually less affective in their religiosity than HBT.

Conclusion

Attitude towards Buddhism was significantly more positive amongst Buddhists to all TSAB questions individually and collectively than for non-Buddhist adolescents. There was no significant difference in attitude towards Buddhism between sexes on individual questions or as a TSAB score. In terms of age, there was a group of questions that seemed to deal with 'highly affective' aspects of Buddhist religiosity[5] which diminished significantly with age – although considering all the TSAB questions together, scores did not differ significantly in terms of age.

In terms of SEC, there was no significant difference in TSAB score, however on the single question concerning time spent as a Buddhist monk, attitudes were significantly more positive in the administrative SEC group. In the final comparison between teen Buddhists of different religious style, HBT were more positive on all the 'highly affective' aspects of Buddhist religiosity and also the additional questions about prayer and meditation, encouraging friendship, sharing with others and avoiding killing that also received more positive responses amongst HBT than CBT.

[5] Offering flowers and incense, respect for living beings, respecting those worthy of respect, the calm mind, offering food and money, the constructiveness of spending time meditating, helping the poor and needy, abstaining from drinking alcohol, looking after parents in their old age and having special respect for those who have helped one a lot.

Chapter Summary

Temple attendance was the most typical form of religious involvement for Buddhist teens, with personal meditation practice and having a home shrine more evident in the lives of HBT. Buddhist beliefs included life after death but were for the most part sceptical of theistic beliefs and the supernatural. Buddhist adolescents were, however, as likely to believe in ghosts as RUA. Buddhists regarded themselves as both religious and spiritual persons, with HBT preferring the former appellation and CBT the latter. At least one of the perpetuating structures of Buddhism, wanting one's child to grow up to be Buddhist, seemed stronger amongst females. CBT found it easier to identify the relevance of Buddhism in the present day than HBT – possibly indicating a different locus of control between religious styles – HBT finding Buddhism legitimated because it has maintained an unbroken lineage from the past and being satisfied to meditate, while CBT legitimate Buddhism by its relevance to the present and degree to which Buddhism has become socially engaged. For the affective aspect of Buddhist religiosity, 'attitude towards Buddhism' the TSAB instrument was demonstrated to be *valid* in a comparison of Buddhists and non-Buddhists, and showed that attitude to Buddhism was unaffected by sex-, age- or socioeconomic group- differences. TSAB scores were slightly lower however amongst CBT. There was a subset of 'highly affective' questions on the TSAB however, for which agreement did diminish with age and which were also shown to be responsible for lower TSAB scores amongst CBT.

Having examined Buddhist teen religious values through their religious involvement, theistic belief, religious convictions, values on religion and society, supernatural beliefs and attitude towards Buddhism, their individual differences in psychological type are now considered in the final findings chapter.

Chapter 14

Findings - Psychological Type

Shin'ichi Hisamatsu (1889-1980), philosopher and Zen Buddhist scholar -

"What we in Buddhism...call the 'common self' corresponds exactly to what you call the 'collective unconscious.' Only through liberation from the collective unconscious ... the authentic self emerge(s)."

response to C.G.Jung's claim that one could be liberated from the collective unconscious (Young-Eisendrath & Muramoto, 2002, 116)

This chapter presents empirical findings concerning the patterns of teen psychological type associated with being Buddhist, sex-differences, age-differences, socio-economic group and religious style.

Psychological Type

There are many ways of describing psychological type and accordingly Carl G. Jung's personality theory has been operationalized into several empirical instruments including the Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI), the Keirsey Type Sorter (KTS) and the Francis Psychological Type Scales (FPTS) – instruments able to describe the differences between people positively in a way that is easy to remember, engaging and of high impact. Psychological type theory, based on these instruments, distinguishes between two orientations (introversion [I] and extraversion [E]), two perceiving functions (sensing [S] and intuition [N]), two judging functions (thinking [T] and feeling [F]) and two attitudes (judging [J] and perceiving [P]). Taken together these four binary choices allow for 16 complete psychological type combinations.

Within the Christian tradition theoretical links have been made between psychological type and chosen approach to spirituality, prayer, worship and scripture, based on the expectation that those of a particular psychological type will be drawn to religiosity that matches their type or compensates for it (Hall, 2012). Tidy categorizations of religiosity by type in theory (e.g. Michael & Norrisey, 1984) when tested empirically are often less distinct in practice. When Ware et al. (2001) tested correlations between the psychological type of Christians and their preferred prayer

style, significant matching was found only in the case of the SJ Temperament. Nonetheless, a number of studies have used the MBTI (Francis, 2002; Francis & Jones, 1997; 1998; Francis & Ross, 1997; Ross et al., 1996) or the KTS (Francis & Louden, 2000b; Jones & Francis, 1999; Ware et al., 2001) to investigate links between religious preferences and psychological type amongst Christians. There is growing evidence that religious attitudes (Francis & Jones, 1999), beliefs (Francis & Jones, 1998; Ross et al., 1996), preferences for prayer or spirituality (Francis, 2002; Francis & Louden, 2000b; Francis & Ross, 1997; Ware et al., 1989), charismatic orientation (Francis & Jones, 1997) and Christian liberalism-conservatism are related to psychological type preferences. The perceiving function (S-N) was found to have a strong statistical correlation with the conservative-liberal dimension of Christianity, while the judging function (T-F) predicted the non-charismatic or charismatic style of Christians (Village, 2005, 14-15). Where aspects of prayer categorized by eight pair-preferences were operationalized, although significant correlations were found between prayer preference and psychological type, correlations often linked beyond the target preference with scales of intuitive prayer, sensing prayer and thinking prayer failing to meet recommended reliability levels (Francis & Robbins, 2008).

To date exploration of the links between type and religiosity have ventured little outside the Christian tradition. A pioneering study of the links between psychological type and Buddhist religiosity was made by Silver, Ross and Francis (2012) who reported on 31 US and Canadian adherents to the New Kadampa Tradition (NKT).

NKT Buddhists were characterized as having a high proportions of INFJ's (19%) and ISTJ's (19%) and a high proportion of Intuitive types (68%) and dominant intuitive types (45%) but begged the question whether these conclusions could validly be extrapolated to other denominations of Buddhists – since for Buddhism in the West, different styles of practice may also impact correspondence between self-identification as Buddhist and psychological type. Thanissaro (2013a) showed that Buddhist teens of a predominantly *heritage* style of religiosity had significantly more of a preference for Intuition (N), Dominant Intuition (Dt.N) and Judging (J) than the general UK population but tended more towards Sensing (S), Extraversion (E) and Judging (J) when compared with the previous NKT sample showing a nuancing of preferred preference according to style on the heritage-convert dichotomy.

Overview

The scientific literature concerned with psychological type has developed a distinctive way of presenting type-related data. The conventional format of Self-Selection Ratio Tables (SSRT) has been used in the present study to allow the findings from this study to be compared with other relevant studies in the literature. Differences between Self-Selection Ratios have had their significance indicated using a Selection Ratio Index (*I*) (McCaulley, 1985), and for this study the calculation and tabulation was made using a Microsoft Excel algorithm designed by Peter Kaldor and Charlotte

Table 14.1: Type Distribution for UK Buddhist Teens

N = 320 (NB: + = 1% of N)

The Sixteen Complete Types:

ISTJ	ISFJ	INFJ	INTJ
n = 42	*n* = 21	*n* = 37	*n* = 32
(13.1 %)	(6.6 %)	(11.6 %)	(10.0 %)
+++++	+++++	+++++	+++++
+++++	++	+++++	+++++
+++		++	
ISTP	**ISFP**	**INFP**	**INTP**
n = 7	*n* = 5	*n* = 15	*n* = 4
(2.2 %)	(1.6 %)	(4.7 %)	(1.3 %)
++	++	+++++	+
ESTP	**ESFP**	**ENFP**	**ENTP**
n = 4	*n* = 7	*n* = 15	*n* = 8
(1.3 %)	(2.2 %)	(4.7 %)	(2.5 %)
+	++	+++++	++
ESTJ	**ESFJ**	**ENFJ**	**ENTJ**
n = 44	*n* = 26	*n* = 28	*n* = 25
(13.8 %)	(8.1 %)	(8.8 %)	(7.8 %)
+++++	+++++	+++++	+++++
+++++	+++	++++	+++
++++			

Jungian Types (E)			Jungian Types (I)			Dominant Types		
	n	%		*n*	%		*n*	%
E-TJ	69	(21.6 %)	I-TP	11	(3.4 %)	Dt. T	80	(25.0 %)
E-FJ	54	(16.9 %)	I-FP	20	(6.3 %)	Dt. F	74	(23.1 %)
ES-P	11	(3.4 %)	IS-J	63	(19.7 %)	Dt. S	74	(23.1 %)
EN-P	23	(7.2 %)	IN-J	69	(21.6 %)	Dt. N	92	(28.8 %)

Dichotomous Preferences		
	n =	%
E	157	(49.1 %)
I	163	(50.9 %)
S	156	(48.8 %)
N	164	(51.3 %)
T	166	(51.9 %)
F	154	(48.1 %)
J	255	(79.7 %)
P	65	(20.3 %)
Pairs and Temperaments		
IJ	132	(41.3 %)
IP	31	(9.7 %)
EP	34	(10.6 %)
EJ	123	(38.4 %)
ST	97	(30.3 %)
SF	59	(18.4 %)
NF	95	(29.7 %)
NT	69	(21.6 %)
SJ	133	(41.6 %)
SP	23	(7.2 %)
NP	42	(13.1 %)
NJ	122	(38.1 %)
TJ	143	(44.7 %)
TP	23	(7.2 %)
FP	42	(13.1 %)
FJ	112	(35.0 %)
IN	88	(27.5 %)
EN	76	(23.8 %)
IS	75	(23.4 %)
ES	81	(25.3 %)
ET	81	(25.3 %)
EF	76	(23.8 %)
IF	78	(24.4 %)
IT	85	(26.6 %)

Craig (2003). Table 14.1 shows the SSRT for the 320 Buddhist teens in the present experimental sample for whom a complete type could be calculated.

The data showed that the most frequently occurring complete types amongst Buddhist teens were ESTJ (14%), ISTJ (13%) and INFJ (12%). Brief vignettes of these three types have been sketched by Myers (2000, 13). ESTJs are generally practical, realistic and matter of fact – decisive, they move quickly to implement decisions. They organize projects and people to get things done and focus on getting results in the most efficient way possible. They tend to take care of routine details and have a clear set of logical standards, systematically following them and expecting others also to do so. They may be forceful in implementing their plans. ISTJs are generally quiet and serious. They earn success by thoroughness and dependability. They tend to be practical, matter-of-fact, realistic and responsible. They decide logically what should be done and work towards it steadily, regardless of distractions. They take pleasure in making everything orderly and organised in their work, their home and their life. They value traditions and loyalty. INFJs generally seek meaning and connection in ideas, relationships and material possessions. They want to understand what motivates people and are insightful about others. Conscientious and committed to their firm values, they develop a clear vision about how best to serve the common good and are organized and decisive in implementing their vision. In terms of attitude, this sample would appear to be predominantly *decisive* rather than adaptable whether Extravert or Introvert, and most concerned with *realism* (Myers et al., 2009, 44).

Religious Affiliation

To examine what is particularly 'Buddhist' about these Self-selection ratios, the psychological type of Buddhist teenagers was compared with the closest available religiously-undifferentiated type distribution ratio – that of the general adult UK population (Kendall & McHenry, 1998)*(Full table can be consulted at G1 Appendix G)*. Selected significant differences are summarised in Table 14.2 where '*I*' is the self-selection ratio.

Table 14.2: Summary of significant SSRT differences between Buddhist and religiously undifferentiated respondents (% incidence)

	Budd	Undiff	*I*	*p*<		Budd	Undiff	*I*	*p*<
INFJ	12	2	6.75	.001	S	49	76	0.68	.001
INTJ	10	1	7.10	.001	N	51	24	2.18	.01
ISFJ	7	13	0.52	.01	P	20	41	0.49	.001
ISTP	2	6	0.34	.01	J	80	58	1.37	.001
ISFP	2	6	0.26	.01	Dt.S	23	13	0.56	.001
ESTP	1	6	0.22	.01	Dt.N	29	12	2.36	.001
ESFP	2	9	0.25	.001					

Complete types for which the incidence was significantly higher than in a religiously undifferentiated population included INFJ (6¾ times higher) and INTJ (over 7 times higher). Complete types for which the incidence was significantly lower than in a religiously undifferentiated population included ISFJ (almost ½ the incidence), ISTP (almost 1/3 the incidence), ISFP (almost ¼ the incidence), ESTP (over ¼ the incidence) and ESFP (¼ the incidence). Incidence of Intuition and Dominant Intuition were both over twice as high as for the undifferentiated population, whereas incidence of Sensing and Dominant Sensing were around half that of the undifferentiated population. Incidence of Judging as a preferred attitude to the outside world was

1½ times higher amongst Buddhists and Perceiving as the preferred attitude to the outside world was less than half as common amongst Buddhists as compared with the undifferentiated population.

Sex Differences

In comparison of the type distribution ratios between the males (*N*=177) and females (*N*=143) in the Buddhist teen sample, an SSRT was calculated to identify significant sex-differences in type distribution. *(Full table can be consulted at G2, Appendix G).* Generally speaking, it is to be expected that type distribution differs with females in any population exhibiting higher proportions of the Feeling (F) preference than males. This phenomenon is usually explained as being a overlay of cultural expectations that females should be more emotionally sensitive to others around them, while males are expected to be tough-minded.

Table 14.3: Summary of significant SSRT differences between male & female Buddhist teens (% incidence)

	Male	Female	*I*	*p*<		Male	Female	*I*	*p*<
INFJ	6	18	2.93	.01	T	58	46	0.80	.05
ENTJ	11	4	0.39	.05	F	42	54	1.27	.05
E	56	41	0.73	.01	DtT	32	15	0.47	.001
I	44	59	1.35	.01	DtN	22	37	1.68	.01

As summarized in Table 14.3, for the Buddhist sample, in keeping with general expectations, female teen Buddhists were more inclined to the Feeling preference and less inclined to the Thinking preference. Differences did not end there however – females were also slightly more inclined towards Introverted orientation and (hence

less inclined towards Extraversion). They were half as likely to have the Dominant Thinking preference and over 1½ times as likely to have a Dominant preference for Intuition. The INFJ type was three times *more* common amongst females than males and the ENTJ type 2½ times *less* common.

Age Differences

It would generally not be expected that psychological type would change as a factor of age, although Jungian Personality Theory, might lead us to expect that the process of individuation that is claimed to take place in the teenage phase of one's life might be the time when there is development of the auxiliary function in one's complete personality type. A comparison of type distribution was made between Buddhists in their early and late teens *(Full table can be consulted at G3, Appendix G)*.

Table 14.4: Summary of significant SSRT differences between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% incidence)

	Early	Late	*I*	*p*<		Early	Late	*I*	*p*<
J	85	73	0.86	.01	P	15	27	1.81	.01

As shown in Table 14.4 the only significant difference was in the preferred attitude towards the outside world which shows that the incidence of the Perceiving preference almost doubles between the early teen years and the late teen years at the expense of the Judging preference. This might be illustrated in a 16-year-old Srilankan Buddhist Tishi's commentary on how she expected their strictness concerning alcohol consumption might change as they got older (Thanissaro, 2014b, 746-7):

> I think our opinions might change as we grow up . . . . we might say this (now), but we might do it differently in the future.

Socio-economic Group

It would generally not be expected that psychological type would change as a factor of SEC, nonetheless, an SSRT was calculated to compare Buddhist teens with parents in managerial occupations with Buddhist teens from other Socio-economic groups. *(Full table can be consulted at G4, Appendix G)*. None of the Dominant Types or Complete Types demonstrated significant differences in terms of SEC group.

Religious Style

The SSRT differences between HBT and CBT were calculated. *(Full table can be consulted at G5, Appendix G)*. Significant results are summarized in Table 14.5.

Table 14.5: Summary of significant SSRT differences between heritage Buddhist teens and convert Buddhist teens (% incidence)

	heritage	convert	*I*	*p*<		heritage	convert	*I*	*p*<
ISTJ	15	5	3.16	.05	E	57	28	2.04	.001
INFJ	7	26	0.27	.001	I	43	72	0.59	.001
INTJ	7	17	0.41	.05	S	60	23	2.58	.001
INFP	3	8	0.35	.05	N	40	77	0.52	.001
ESTJ	19	1	15.91	.001	T	57	38	1.51	.01
DtS	28	8	3.32	.001	F	43	62	0.69	.01
DtN	19	51	0.37	.001	J	85	68	1.24	.01
					P	15	31	0.49	.01

Complete types which were significantly more prevalent amongst HBT included ISTJ (3 times more prevalent in HBT as CBT) and ESTJ (more than 3 times more prevalent in HBT as CBT). Complete types which were significantly *less* prevalent

amongst HBT included INFJ (3 times less prevalent in HBT as CBT), INTJ (less than half as prevalent in HBT as CBT) and INFP (3 times less prevalent in HBT as CBT). In terms of the dichotomous preferences, HBT were likely to be twice as extravert as CBT, 2½ times more likely to have the Sensing preference, 1½ times as likely to have the Thinking preference and 1¼ times as likely to have the Judging Attitude to the Outside world. In terms of Dominant functions, HBT were three times as likely to have Sensing as their dominant function as CBT. However, they were three times less likely to have Intuition as their dominant function as CBT. To unpack the huge religious style differences in psychological type in the teenage sample between HBT and CBT Buddhists, a comparison was made individually between the CBT (Table 14.6) and the standard SSRT distribution for the UK population *(Full table can be consulted at G6, Appendix G)* and between the HBT (Table 14.7) and the standard SRTT distribution for the UK population *(Full table can be consulted at G7, Appendix G)*.

Table 14.6: Summary of significant SSRT differences between convert Buddhist teens and a religiously undifferentiated UK sample (% incidence)

	Convert	Undiff	*I*	*p*<		Convert	Undiff	*I*	*p*<
ISTJ	5	14	0.36	.05	ENFJ	10	3	3.54	.001
ISFJ	2	13	0.19	.01	E	28	52	0.54	.001
INFJ	26	2	14.95	.001	I	72	48	1.51	.001
INTJ	17	1	12.13	.001	S	23	76	0.30	.001
INFP	8	3	2.68	.01	N	77	24	3.27	.001
ESFP	1	9	0.14	.05	DtS	8	41	0.21	.001
ESTJ	1	10	0.12	.01	DtN	51	12	4.21	.001
ESFJ	4	13	0.29	.05					

In comparison with the general UK type distribution statistics, CBT are particularly introverted and intuitive (3x over the national average – 4x over the national average for intuition as a dominant function).

Table 14.7: Summary of significant SSRT differences between heritage Buddhist teens and a religiously undifferentiated UK sample (% incidence)

	Heritage	Undiff	*I*	*p*<		Heritage	Undiff	*I*	*p*<
INFJ	7	2	4.06	.001	S	60	76	0.78	.001
INTJ	7	1	4.95	.001	N	40	24	1.71	.001
ISTP	1	7	0.15	.01	T	57	46	1.25	.01
ISFP	1	6	0.16	.01	F	43	54	0.79	.01
ESTP	2	6	0.34	.05	J	85	58	1.45	.001
ESFP	3	9	0.34	.05	P	15	42	0.37	.001
ENFP	2	6	0.39	.05	Dt.T	30	22	1.37	.05
ESTJ	19	10	1.86	.001	Dt.S	28	41	0.69	.01
ENFJ	8	3	3.07	.001	Dt.N	19	12	1.55	.01
ENTJ	10	3	3.22	.001					

Meanwhile, HBT are slightly more intuitive than the national average and have slightly more of a Judging attitude to the outside world.

Chapter Summary

There appears to be something in the psychological type profile that is special to Buddhists. Building on the data already published for adult US NKT followers, it seems that Buddhists have a preference for Intuition over Sensing across denominations and styles. Normally, preference for tradition and convention in spirituality is indicative of a Sensing preference (Hall, 2012). The Theravadin denomination of Buddhism to which the majority of the HBT belong is known to

be more proud of its conventions and traditions than the reformed traditions typically followed by CBT. In the words of Vari, a 20-year-old heritage Buddhist, speaking on his Asian background said it was (Thanissaro, 2014a, 6):

> …important that you always know where you came from …and not just forget.

This could go some way to explain why, although the UK Buddhists still have a preference for Intuition which is higher than for the normative UK population, they are not so far inclined towards Intuition as CBT and the previously mentioned sample of NKT co-religionists in the US. It would appear, however that although similar in their S-N dichotomy preferences, the HBT described in this study are also slightly more extravert than CBT and the previously mentioned sample of NKT Buddhists in the US. Illustrations of this may coincide with the importance for HBT of the recognition by significant others. Again, Vari explained his view of making a difference to society (Thanissaro, 2014b, 737):

> When you like, help others to be better . . . and in the future you see them *actually* successful . . . you will feel like "Yeah!"—if it wasn't because of you, that person wouldn't be there . . .

The higher incidence of extraversion in the heritage Buddhists might say something about the higher importance seemingly placed on social capital and communitarianism in this group. Other individual differences, such as the female tendency towards feeling and introversion and the tendency in younger teens towards J rather than P, in psychological type among the Buddhist teens begs the question whether religious affiliation, sex, age and religious style correspond with aspects of Buddhist character or are complemented by them.

Having examined individual differences in Buddhist teen psychological type, bringing us to the end of the findings chapters, we now turn to Chapter 15 which attempts to bring together and interpret all seven findings chapters.

Chapter 15

Conclusions

Thai Buddhist mother -

"(My eight-year-old son) didn't understand much of what goes on at the temple, so he just played around."

admitting to lack of provision by many temples for the youngsters attending (Thanissaro, 2011b, 69).

Having reached the final chapter of this dissertation it becomes important not to lose sight of the research questions set out in the introduction and evaluate the extent to which these questions have been answered by the study findings. At the outset, the project set out to explore, for self-identifying Buddhist teenagers in Britain, patterns of Buddhist religiosity, especially: to identify its antecedents, to establish how nurture activities develop young peoples' religiosity, to identify its components and to discover the consequences for lifestyle, commitment and personality. The study set out to explore issues of Buddhist identity and its development in self-identifying Buddhists and where possible to compare Buddhist identity and religiosity with those of other faith traditions.

In response to these research questions, the preceding seven chapters of this study have brought together individual difference findings in 21 values areas. Although quantitative work of this nature can usually show only where statistical links between pairs of variables are significant, the gaps in knowledge concerning direction of causality can sometimes be filled by thick data from previous qualitative research. Failing this, if variables are fixed or seem to be determined by a force larger than individual choice (however subconscious), it can *indicate* a direction of causality. Where un-manipulable or temporally earlier factors seem to precipitate Buddhist identity, they have been referred to as antecedents. Where factors seemed to have *emerged* from the Buddhist identities of teens, they have been referred to as consequences.

Antecedents of Buddhist identity

Experimental findings indicate that antecedents of Buddhist identity include parenting style, spiritual teachers, temple-training and ethos, shrines and religious practice in the home, collectivism, cleavage against assimilation and psychological type.

Parenting style

The degree to which parents intervene in the way children use their spare time seems particularly high for Buddhists. This study has reported differences in the power distance of parenting style between HBT and CBT. Nonetheless, there are still similarities in the parenting style across religious styles and this concerns having more intervention in spare time pursuits and a warmth of relationship that results in children having more motivation to look after their parents in their old age (i.e. a more long-term relationship – whether formal or informal). There is a sense in which Buddhist adults have more awareness of their role as parents – that their actions towards their children *count* – even if they are not particularly analytical about exactly how they are making a difference to their childrens' upbringing. From parents, children learned obedience and religious faith. Bowing to parents was more widespread than in the general population, indicating traditionalism. Buddhists were more likely to do what their parents required even if they detested it. Possibly there was a sense that parents had to succeed in bringing up the sort of child who would *want* to look after them in their old age.

Spiritual teachers

Spiritual teachers were also significant antecedents of Buddhist religiosity, second only to parents – and were equally important to HBT and CBT according to the survey. They set an example, showed them how to practise Buddhism and persuaded teenagers to take Buddhism seriously, contextualizing Buddhist knowledge, challenging teens to think about their moral choices and answering questions more convincingly (Thanissaro, 2014a, 5-6). The association with spiritual teachers was cultivated differently by HBT and CBT. The HBT dealt with spiritual teachers, who were generally Buddhist monks, through expression of respect, support with food or money and following of advice. The CBT dealings with spiritual teachers were more informal – mostly through reading their books or following their teachings.

Temple-training and ethos

A third, but rather different antecedent of Buddhist religiosity was the immersion in Buddhist culture facilitated by regular temple-going. Intense immersion occurred through temporary ordination and eight-precept training. Spiritual or mystical experiences arising inwardly from meditation would also belong to this category (Thanissaro, 2014b, 752-753).

Shrines and religious practice in the home

Just as ethos and practice in the temple were antecedents of Buddhist religiosity located in the place of worship, shrine and home practice were antecedents supplementing temple practice from the home. Buddhists were more likely to have a shrine in their home than religiously-undifferentiated teens (Thanissaro, 2010b). Having a shrine seemed to correspond with a lot of affective qualities of Buddhist identity. Personal meditation practice, bowing to parents and tending the shrine were likely examples of home practice.

Collectivism

Buddhists were high on vertical and horizontal collectivism and low on vertical individualism considering they lived in an individualistic country like Britain. Living in any society where there is 'safety in numbers' or where an ingroup feels threatened [for example, a religious society, the lower classes, a society which uses a language with collectivist grammar] generally supports the arising of collectivist values (Triandis & Gelfand, 2012, 507). Just as collectivism seems to be a feature of Buddhist families, these antecedents of collectivism – namely belonging to Buddhist society, a shared Buddhist language and being second or third generation migrants would add to Buddhist cultural tenacity more for HBT than CBT, with love of education added to this as the most accessible way of gaining acceptance and upward social mobility. These collectivist values were certainly relevant to the formation of Buddhist identity in Britain too.

Cleavage against assimilation

Where a Buddhist ingroup identity is threatened by assimilation into a non-Buddhist cultural 'melting-pot', the technical name for Buddhist tenacity against the perceived threat of assimilation is 'cleavage'. For Buddhist teens, whether HBT or CBT, cleavage is likely to be considerable as Buddhism is a tiny minority in British society. Buddhist teenagers in Britain maintain their Buddhist affiliation in spite of the majority of their peers belonging to another or no religion. Cleavage for HBT would manifest as pressure to maintain and perpetuate the identity of their ingroup. For CBT by contrast, cleavage would be manifested as rejection of the values of Establishment and social status and advocacy of alternative spirituality. Most Buddhist teens had non-Buddhist friends but consulted them only about problems of a certain (non-religious) category in this way perhaps achieving a sense of uniqueness and individuality that nodded at mainstream values sufficiently to avoid being ostracized.

Psychological Type

Psychological type is supposed to be fixed and relatively unchanging for a person throughout life. Especially for converts who become Buddhist through a clear sense of choice, the psychological type of a person will have some influence on what they see as compatible with or complementary to what they perceive as the 'greatest good' in their life. Even for heritage Buddhists where the expectation is presumably much stronger that they will continue to carry the parental 'baton' of Buddhism

into a new generation, there is always a point where they could reject their parents' values if they conflicted with their psychological type. If Buddhist values were not linked with psychological type, a null hypothesis would lead us to expect Buddhist teens to have a psychological type ratio no different from the average UK population. This null-hypothesis has been rejected however, since this study has confirmed an Intuitive psychological type (N) seems particularly conducive to Buddhist self-identification. It has also been demonstrated that psychological type acts differently as an antecedent for heritage and convert Buddhists, showing that over the backdrop of this intuition preference, HBT have brought a cultural overlay of extraversion (E) that perhaps reflects the social capital and collectivism of their member group. In addition, through the emphasis in the HBT member group on tradition and convention, they have also brought an overlay of sensing preference (S) which lessens the degree to which the intuitive preference is expressed for the heritage membership group, compared to the converts.

Consequences of Buddhist identity

General impact on lifestyle, commitments and personality

The ultimacy of values in Buddhist outlook on life tends to have caused certain mundane values such as work ethic, authority, the media, friendship and marriage plans to be relativised more than would be the case for a religiously-undifferentiated population. In terms of lifestyle, being Buddhist seems to facilitate a love of learning and respect for teachers. Buddhists seem to be more participatory in the democratic

process in the way they felt more willing to sign a petition. In terms of commitments, Buddhists were more likely to be atheist, more likely to believe in life after death and more likely to say they were religious and spiritual people. Buddhists were more concerned about domestic issues than global issues of social concern possibly because pragmatically speaking, they felt more empowered to do something about people than solve global problems. Buddhists were less likely to consider their religious community and teachings irrelevant or superceded by science. Buddhists had more confidence in their clergy and were less likely to believe in the supernatural and but had more ghost stories to tell. Buddhists scored higher on the TSAB — there being a significantly more positive attitude amongst Buddhists to all questions individually and collectively in terms of TSAB score, than for non-Buddhist adolescents. Buddhists had the intention to care for parents in their old age. Finally in terms of personality, Buddhists had stronger sense of purpose in life and less likelihood of suicide ideation – but it could be argued that this may be a feature of any adolescent endowed with religious faith since the same trend was seen in comparison between Christian adolescents and religiously-undifferentiated adolescents (Baker, 2013, 195). Buddhists generally had fewer worries in life, perhaps stemming from the value placed in Buddhism on having a calm mind and the subjectivity of happiness. Buddhists seemed to be more tolerant of differences and forgiving, but retained a conception of 'evil' as shown by their strength of conscience especially in abiding by the law and avoiding substance use.

How being Buddhist differs for male and female

It is to be expected even in a religiously-undifferentiated population that there will be certain sex-differences in attitude patterns. Some of the expected patterns were also seen for Buddhists, in that males had less tendency than females towards depression, suicide ideation and anxiety or supernatural beliefs and a psychological type that tended more towards Thinking and Dominant Thinking than Feeling. Deviating from the expected sex-differences in this Buddhist sample was the finding that male teen Buddhists tended to be more outgoing (their psychological type tended more towards E) as illustrated by the way they liked their fellow pupils. They were more easily embarrassed by their family and were more likely to meet with the disapproval of their family as a result of their friends. Males were more avid video gamers. They gave more serious thought to seeking ordination to a monastic community. They were less law-abiding, less influenced by celebrities and less concerned that their children grew up Buddhist. Female teen Buddhists, by contrast, tended to like their fellow pupils less. They were less easily embarrassed by their family and were less likely to meet with the disapproval of their family as a result of their friends – corresponding with a more introverted psychological type. They played video-games less. They gave less serious thought to ordination to a monastic community. Females were more independent of their friends. They were more law-abiding and more influenced by celebrities. They were more concerned that their children grew up Buddhist. Instead of females having a higher TSAB score or stronger theistic beliefs, there were no sex-differences found on these two issues.

Being Buddhist and class

In any population there are certain class-differences in attitudes that are expected between families with parents in managerial, administrative or elementary occupations. Some of the expected values patterns for the higher classes such as less depression, more sense of purpose in life and more rejection of supernatural beliefs were also reflected in the Buddhist teen sample. It should also be pointed out that for the Buddhist sample there were relatively high proportions of Buddhist families who belonged to the managerial class. There is a general trend in the second and third generation of migrants to eschew collectivist values in favour of individual ones especially via education in order to 'get ahead' in terms of social mobility (Ghuman, 2001). Some of the findings that were more unexpected were those for Buddhist teens from the administrative class, who proved more adversely affected by peer pressure (i.e. favoured more vertical individualism), tended to associate more with fellow Buddhists and tended to worry more about nuclear war. They were also keener on being ordained into a monastic community. By contrast Buddhist teens from elementary class families had fewer complaints about disrespect from adults, found writing graffiti more acceptable, favoured vertical collectivism and traditionalism more in terms of expecting children to learn obedience and religious faith, belief in God and thinking God had a role in salvation (whereas belief in God and the role of religion in society is usually an upper class trend in mainstream British society). Values which seemed to be unaffected by socio-economic influence amongst Buddhists were work ethics, family values and attitude to substance use.

Being Buddhist differently

In North America, the dual communities of heritage and convert have been well-known from anthropological studies for some time – but their identities have never been researched quantitatively as identifying features that can be distinguished through individual difference psychology. In what follows, I offer vignettes of heritage and convert Buddhists resolved along religious dimension of reform-tradition and individual (intrinsic religion)-collectivist (extrinsic religion), the synthesis of which is represented graphically in Figure 15.1. The unmarked corners of the hexagon placemark the expectation that a scriptural-charismatic dimension could also be found in Buddhism given a sample of sufficient size.

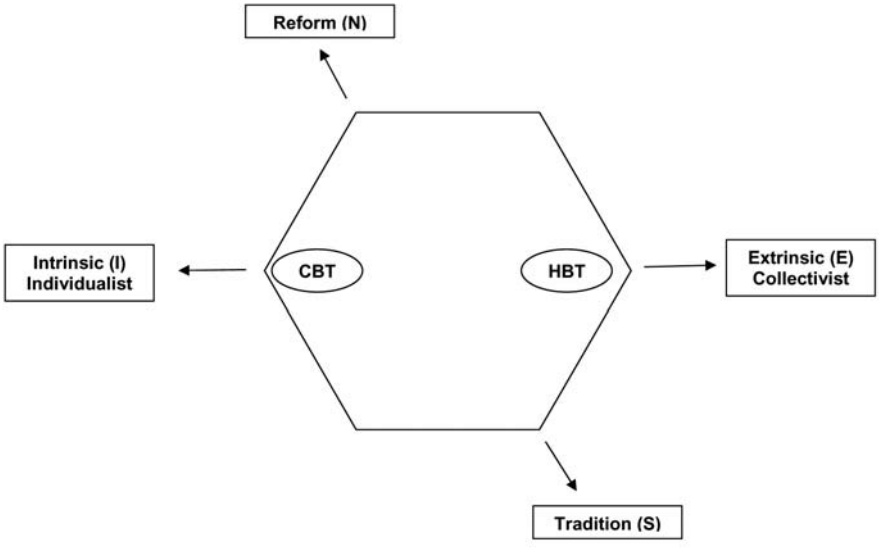

Figure 15.1: Graphic representation of the dimensions of Buddhist religiosity

Convert Buddhists

The identifying features of convert Buddhists seem to include the emphasis on intrinsic religion, individualism (with any collectivism being horizontal), reform/rational-secular outlook and cleavage towards an alternative spirituality, 'beat-Buddhism' and anti-Establishment values.

Intrinsic religion: Converts seem to put more emphasis on intrinsic expressions of Buddhism. Convert Buddhists tended to self-identify as 'spiritual'. Convert Buddhists were less likely to think Buddhism to be the only true religion or to refer to themselves as a 'proper Buddhist'. Convert Buddhists were less interested in having their children to grow up Buddhist. Convert Buddhists may or may not have had a shrine in the home. Convert Buddhists had temple attendance as their main form of religious involvement (that is 'ethos'-orientated rather than dutiful attendance) and found temples less boring. CBT were more likely to have had a religious or spiritual experience.

Individualism with any collectivism being horizontal: Convert Buddhists were more individualist, scoring lower than HBT on both vertical collectivism (doing tasks they detested if family required) and horizontal collectivism (caring for wellbeing of fellows) while expressing less of a wish to learn an Asian language. In this study's sample, teens seemed to convert to Buddhism only after the age of 16.[1] In terms of psychological preferences they tended to lean more towards introversion (I). They

[1] This may signal a need to be legally independent from parents or may more simply be just the minimum age admitted by children with their own Facebook page, which was the main method of survey recruitment for converts

tended to value friendship less than HBT, talk less about problems with friends, have fewer Buddhist friends, be less influenced by friends and have more boy-girl friendships – liking their fellow pupils less. They tended to reject work ethic along with other Establishment-driven norms. Convert Buddhists were less keen on family values – turning less to their mother with their problems, not getting on as well with their family, feeling less supported by their family, finding family less important and seemingly less-influenced by their family than HBT. They were more tolerant of homosexuality (self-expression). They were less strongly influenced by TV advertisements and spent less time watching TV, using the internet and playing video-games.

Rational-secular values and reform Buddhism: Converts tended to have more of an intuitive (N) preference than heritage Buddhists. Convert Buddhists were more rational-secular – rejecting theistic beliefs (across the board) and any need for children to learn obedience and religious faith. Even so, convert Buddhists found it easier to see the relevance of Buddhist teachings to the present day – possibly because intuitives are generally better at making logical connections. They tended to consider vegetarianism important and thought meditation did not suffice as Buddhist practice (favouring socially engaged practice instead). Abortion was tolerated more by CBT.

Cleavage towards an alternative spirituality: Convert Buddhism in the US has historic links with the Beat movement (cf. Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, Gary Snyder). CBT attitudes also demonstrated cleavage towards an alternative lifestyle which included their spirituality and involved rejection of Establisment values that

included school, work-ethic, RE, CW, the police, patriotism, monastic clergy, Buddhist perpetuating structures and authority figures. They also expressed greater permissiveness towards alcohol, tobacco and drugs. Especially in terms of psychological type profile, convert Buddhists have many parallels with liberals in the Christian church but at this stage I would hesitate to conclude that CBT are more mature than HBT in their religious outlook as Strieb (2001) might claim.

Heritage Buddhists

Identifying features of heritage Buddhists seem to include the emphasis on extrinsic religion, collectivism (especially vertical collectivism) and traditionalism with cleavage towards Asian culture and to some extent towards upward social mobility and acceptance by the mainstream.

Extrinsic religion: Heritage Buddhists experienced more intervention from their family in the way they used their spare time. Generally heritage Buddhists had a shrine in the home. Heritage Buddhists tended to self-identify as 'religious'. Heritage Buddhists were more likely to think Buddhism to be the only true religion and to refer to themselves as a 'proper Buddhist'. Heritage Buddhists were more likely to want their children to grow up Buddhist as one of many facets of perpetuating structures they actively supported.

Collectivism (especially vertical collectivism): Heritage Buddhists were more collectivist, scoring higher, not only on vertical collectivism, but also horizontal collectivism, while expressing more of a wish to learn an Asian language. HBT tended

more to extraversion (E) than CBT. They tended to value friendship more, talked more about problems with friends, had Buddhist friends, were influenced by friends and were mainly in same-sex friendships. Heritage Buddhists were stronger on family values. HBT were less tolerant of homosexuality (self-expression). They were more strongly influenced by TV advertisement and spent more time watching TV, using the internet and playing video-games. Amongst heritage Buddhists bowing to parents was a typical practice on a daily or occasional basis. Heritage Buddhists were more likely to think Buddhist monks did a good job.

Traditionalism: HBT had more of a sensing (S) preference, meaning that they were more traditional – with acceptance of theistic beliefs, wanting children to learn obedience and religious faith but being intolerant of abortion. Heritage Buddhists were more patriotic and respectful of authority. Heritage Buddhists had personal meditation as their main form of religious involvement and many tended to think that meditation sufficed as Buddhist practice (meditation seen as traditional rather than intrinsic). Even so, many heritage Buddhists failed to find Buddhist teachings relevant in the present day, were more likely to find temples boring and thought that Buddhism had been replaced by science. They did not tend to consider vegetarianism important.

Cleavage towards Asian culture and social mobility/acceptance: Collectivism in religion is not the same as 'extrinsic expressions of religion' but has many aspects that overlap. HBT were more supportive of Establishment values. They were less tolerant of alcohol, tobacco and drugs.

How nurture develops young Buddhist religiosity

It is likely that most nurture happens prior to the teenage years and this study finds young Buddhists in the process of relativising and forgetting what they had learned about Buddhism in childhood. In any population there are certain age-differences in attitudes that are expected as teens move from their early teens to their late teens. Generally teens will lose (some) of their enthusiasm for RE and for school in general, worries about personal safety (bullying etc.), their confidence in the police, their sense of impotence in the face of the world's problems, the inclination to admit they are religious, confidence in the clergy and positive attitude to their religion while becoming more permissive about tobacco, alcohol, drugs and homosexuality. All of these patterns were also reflected in the Buddhist teen sample. More unexpected were the findings that Buddhists lost (some of) their work-ethic, enthusiasm for friendship, family values, uncritical consumption of visual media, wish to learn an Asian language, traditionalism, belief in life after death and positive attitude to the 'highly affective' aspects of Buddhist religiosity. Loss of the religious values with age in this way actually seems to be undoing the nurture that they had received at an earlier age. At the same time, attitudes that strengthened with age were the Perceiving preference (they *became relativistic* in their judgements rather than rushing to black-and-white moral rectitude). The only signs of nurture that added anything to the existing religiosity during the teenage years, were the wish to join a monastic order and commit to engaged Buddhism rather than just meditating.

Based on qualitative data and values theory, I have elsewhere proposed a dual-channel mechanism for Buddhist nurture (Thanissaro, 2014b). The quantitative data of this study seem to add further weight to this understanding of value transmission mechanisms involved, in a way that links with Social Learning Theory. Extrinsic expressions of religion are nurtured mostly by social control by the intervention of parents and spiritual teachers (as explained earlier at p.223). Such interventions by parents are likely to affect extrinsic aspects of religiosity to form principles or *ideology* which Buddhist teens may take for granted. Such aspects seem to be less present for Convert Buddhists than Heritage Buddhists. This channel of nurture corresponds with the Social Learning Theory components of retention and motivation (Oman & Thoresen, 2003, 154-155).

In contrast to the way ideology is nurtured, Buddhist teen *worldview* seemed to develop as the result of immersion in Buddhist ethos – amenable features of the culture in which the teens find themselves – rather than by direct social interventions. Worldviews seem to "grow" in the same way an acorn grows as the result of water and sunlight – that is, by indirect influence. Worldview would also arise as the result of unspoken examples set by parents or spiritual teachers and undergoing spiritual or religious experiences. Teens also would be more self-aware of such worldviews. Worldviews cultivated in such a way are likely to include the Buddhist attitude to problem solving, the things which make life seem worth living to a Buddhist teen, the benefits derived from recollection of death, the Buddhist understanding of *nirvâna*, seeing meditation as an important way to help with exam

stress and as central to attaining *nirvâna*, and the extension of karmic causality to the afterlife. Home practice was also importance from the point of view of bringing 'immersion in' Buddhist culture to the home for the formation of worldview. Such nurture in Britain would be notable in lacking the usual support in worldview formation from peers – as few of the teens in the sample had *Buddhist* friends. Where most of their friends were non-Buddhist, they did not tend to seek advice from them on *religious* issues to the same degree as might be the case in a country with a majority Buddhist population. The observed trend for peers to have more of an impact on religious *worldviews* than parents, as described in research with Christian teenagers (Francis, 1993b; Francis & Craig, 2006) would for this reason be absent from the Buddhist sample. By setting an example or facilitating immersion in various aspects of Buddhist/temple culture Buddhist worldview (intrinsic religion) will be formed. Social learning theory would say people learn by examples they have watched – and indeed, two of the four Social Learning Theory components of attention and reproduction (Oman & Thoresen, 2003, 154) would seem to be relevant to this channel of Buddhist nurture.

Conclusions

Contributions to knowledge

This research has broken free of the usual western/convert bias in explanation of Buddhism (Gross, 2006, 412). It offers a model of dimensionality of Buddhist religiosity that can be expanded upon in future research and a theory of nurture of

Buddhist religiosity. These findings portray a more positive school experience for Buddhist teenagers than came across in focus groups with a similar sample where many of the teens felt hampered by their struggle with English as a second language and related negative anecdotes about their schools (Thanissaro, 2013b, 13). Atheism is known to be a feature of Buddhist philosophy but quantitative proof of this is scant – similarly unpacking the meaning of theism for Buddhists is hard to find since most previous studies have only been informed by what Buddhists are *supposed* to believe. This study offers clear and groundbreaking quantitative evidence that Buddhists are less likely to believe in God, the rising of Jesus from the dead, God creating the universe or that Christianity is the only true religion.

Support for policy that is enactable

The political climate at the time of writing is illustrated by a mission at the highest level to identify 'British values' that offer protection from religious radicalism and extremism (Wintour, 2014)— a quest that lacks clear any empirical basis for selecting one set of values at the expense of another. This piece of research, along with all values mapping projects, offers an important empirical touchstone for any values-led political policy. In keeping with the findings of the Quilliam Foundation (Saltman & Russell, 2014) this dissertation has identified values-driven *ideology* as most liable to manipulation, since it is often taken for granted and is socially instilled. But since ideology is but *one* aspect of religiosity, I would discourage any policy that pathologized or criminalised religious piety indiscriminately. This research draws attention to values-driven 'worldview' nurtured

through example and ethos as offering a force in religion for good and it is worldview rather than ideology that values freedom, tolerance of others, acceptance, personal and social responsibility and respecting and upholding the rule of law – no less for Buddhist teens than for British society at large. Fostering such worldview at school age fits well with multicultural RE as it has been developed in Britain over the last 60 years. Ironically, the political climate of 2015 presents one of the biggest challenges to British RE in its long history — particularly regrettable when the majority of Buddhist pupils (66%) think that RE should continue to be taught in school and (55%) consider it part of a broad and balanced curriculum. Even thematic RE dealing with 'British values' from the point of view of each major religion would be better than no RE at all.

On the basis of the findings of this study, some recommendations can also be made for more accurate portrayal of Buddhism in RE. In its analysis of CBT and HBT, this study has helped to define the borders between young people and their tradition (past and present). It has shown that Buddhism is different from Abrahamic religions in that it does not prioritise belief and scripture — but equally should not be portrayed as a glorified form of spirituality (Thanissaro, 2013b, 10). RE teachers should bear in mind that the atheism of Buddhists is very different from the agnosticism of non-religious teenagers in UK society who have not formed an opinion on religious matters – and hence in RE, atheism should be respected as a choice Buddhists have already made rather than a lack of religious understanding. The study also indicates an aspect of concern for educators, namely that secondary

school CW is failing to include Buddhists – possibly because of the use of excessively theistic terminology in school assemblies.

In terms of temple-based religious education, it would certainly be a mistake for Buddhists not to organize more youth-based activities at temples (Thanissaro, 2011b, 69) because otherwise the upcoming generation will miss out on worldview-based nurture (immersion) that has the power to help young Buddhists become self-aware of potentially erroneous religious ideology.

Recommendations for further research

Further research could usefully explore for Buddhists, the full gamut of values areas usually included in values mapping research (Francis & Penny, 2013), but which have due to space considerations been omitted from this dissertation. Values areas recommended for inclusion in future research include counselling, sexual morality, politics, leisure and 'my area'.

As Buddhist self-identification has been the main indicator of 'being Buddhist' for this dissertation, but is not the *only* one, further research could be conceived cross-tabulating instead in terms of temple participation levels, ownership of a Buddhist shrine, bowing to parents, having had a religious or spiritual experience, Facebook interest-groups or TSAB scores. Although the present study collected these alternative data, they have not been analyzed in this dissertation owing to lack of space.

Another avenue for further research touched upon but not explored fully in this study was the likelihood that the dimension of Thinking-Feeling preferences in Buddhist psychological type may prove equivalent to the scriptural-charismatic

dimension of Christian religiosity. If this is the case, the thinking preference might be represented in Buddhism by the 'no-nonsense' Vipassanâ mindfulness of one's thoughts and Kâlâma Sutta rejection of any beliefs that cannot be proven empirically. Feeling preference might be represented by the 'highly affective' questions on the TSAB or by movements in Buddhism which seem to centre on the charismatic personality of a particular spiritual teacher, rather than a historical lineage.

Limitations of the work

The understanding of Buddhism in this study has relied on the touchstone of Buddhist self-identification. It should be pointed out that there are other ways of considering who counts as a Buddhist that might yield slightly different results – were for example, Buddhists to be counted by involvement in practice, by degree of Buddhist attitude or by temple attendance. The study is limited in the degree to which it can be generalized as it deals with Britain only — but comparable results might be expected for Buddhists in other western societies. Comparison with a majority Buddhist country in Asia would tell us much about the observations here to do with minority cleavage – but would require translation of the survey instruments. The medium-sized sample in this study has limited the possibilities for statistical analysis in a way that has sadly precluded multifactorial analysis. Also it should be borne in mind that the teen age-range may have special characteristics that might not appear to the same extent in adult Buddhists.

Self-reflection

My original intention was to access 1,000 self-identifying Buddhists – but this was unrealizable in the time available. Many of the teens going to Buddhist temples or flagging themselves up as interested in Buddhism on Facebook were not Buddhist self-identifiers. It was therefore necessary to shed more than half the data collected. In my Masters' research project, I already had experience of capturing disappointingly few Buddhists in the school context to achieve the original research questions I set for myself. For this study too, it was difficult to recruit Buddhists, running into lack of cooperation with gatekeepers because of the length of the survey and some questions perceived as embarrassing. The decision was taken halfway through the period of fieldwork, to include online surveys. Although this second data-gathering source was achieved only at considerable expense, the effort added to the sample significant numbers of converts, stay-at-home Buddhists and introverts. The researcher could not avoid coming to the conclusion that Buddhists or perhaps the new generation of young people suffer from minimal motivation to complete surveys — possibly due to inundation with inconsequential market research surveys and wariness about being recruited onto publicity mailing lists. The scientific community ought to work together to reduce 'nuisance research', prioritising academic and public-domain studies.

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Appendices

Appendix A:

Contents:
Full tables of Raw Data for Chapter 8

Table A1: Comparison of values concerning well-being between Buddhist and religiously undifferentiated respondents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	*p*<
I feel my life has a sense of purpose	66	55	7.8	.01
I find life really worth living	73	69	1.2	NS
I feel I am not worth much as a person	16	13	0.6	NS
I often feel depressed	28	52	36.4	.001
I have sometimes considered taking my own life	29	27	0.4	NS

**from Francis (2001c, 27). Yates correction applied throughout.*

Table A2: Comparison of values concerning well-being between male and female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p*<
I feel my life has a sense of purpose	61	59	0.2	NS
I find life really worth living	71	62	3.5	NS
I feel I am not worth much as a person	13	14	0.0	NS
I often feel depressed	24	34	4.9	.05
I have sometimes considered taking my own life	24	34	5.0	.05

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table A3: Comparison of values concerning well-being between Buddhists in their early and late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
I feel my life has a sense of purpose	64	55	3.3	NS
I find life really worth living	71	62	2.8	NS
I feel I am not worth much as a person	16	10	2.0	NS
I often feel depressed	30	26	0.7	NS
I have sometimes considered taking my own life	29	28	0.0	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table A4: Socio-economic Group Classification (Five-class version of self-coded NS-SEC)

Code	Label	Examples
1	Managerial & professional occupations	▪ Modern professional occupations [Teacher, nurse, physiotherapist, social worker, welfare officer, artist, musician, police officer (sergeant or above), software designer] ▪ Traditional professional occupations: accountant, solicitor, medical practitioner, scientist, civil/mechanical engineer ▪ Senior managers or administrators [usually responsible for planning, organizing and co-ordinating work and for finance e.g. finance manager, chief executive]
2	Clerical & Intermediate occupations	Secretary, personal assistant, clerical worker, office clerk, call centre agent, nursing auxiliary, nursery nurse
3	Small employers & own account workers	Employers of 25 or less employees (unless professional work). Middle or junior managers: office manager, retail manager, bank manager, restaurant manager, warehouse manager, publican
4	Lower supervisory & technical/craft occupations	Motor mechanic, fitter, inspector, plumber, printer, tool maker, electrician, gardener, train driver. Supervisors of these
5	Semi-routine/service & routine occupations	▪ Semi-routine/service: Postal worker, machine operative, security guard, caretaker, farm worker, catering assistant, receptionist, sales assistant ▪ Routine manual/service: HGV driver, van driver, cleaner, porter, packer, sewing machinist, messenger, labourer, waiter/waitress, bar staff ▪ Long-term unemployed

Table A5: Comparison of Buddhist teen values concerning well-being across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
I feel my life has a sense of purpose	61	63	64	0.3	NS
I find life really worth living	72	75	68	1.0	NS
I feel I am not worth much as a person	12	10	17	1.5	NS
I often feel depressed	21	28	40	7.1	.05
I have sometimes considered taking my own life	26	30	38	2.4	NS

Table A6: Comparison of values concerning well-being between heritage & convert Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
I feel my life has a sense of purpose	67	50	10.3	.01
I find life really worth living	73	53	13.5	.001
I feel I am not worth much as a person	13	16	0.3	NS
I often feel depressed	25	33	2.5	NS
I have sometimes considered taking my own life	22	36	8.8	.01

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table A7: Comparison of values concerning worries between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated respondents (% agreement)

	Budd	Undiff*	χ^2	*p*<
I am worried about my sex life	10	17	6.6	.05
I am worried about my attractiveness to the opposite sex	30	35	1.0	NS
I am worried about getting AIDS/HIV	17	58	112.4	.001
I am worried about how I get on with other people	37	52	13.4	.001
I am worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools	15	19	1.5	NS
I am worried about going out alone at night in my area	46	31	16.9	.001

**from Francis (2001c, 29). Yates correction applied throughout.*

Table A8: Comparison of sex-differences in values concerning worries between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p*<
I am worried about my sex life	12	11	0.0	NS
I am worried about my attractiveness to the opposite sex	32	28	0.4	NS
I am worried about getting AIDS/HIV	23	16	2.7	NS
I am worried about how I get on with other people	39	33	1.5	NS
I am worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools	10	12	0.2	NS
I am worried about going out alone at night in my area	24	50	31.6	.001

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table A9: Comparison of age-differences in values concerning worries between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% Agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
I am worried about my sex life	10	12	0.3	NS
I am worried about my attractiveness to the opposite sex	34	26	3.0	NS
I am worried about getting AIDS/HIV	20	20	0.0	NS
I am worried about how I get on with other people	39	33	1.5	NS
I am worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools	14	6	6.2	.05
I am worried about going out alone at night in my area	44	27	12.9	.001

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table A10. Comparison of Buddhist teen values concerning worries across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
I am worried about my sex life	12	11	11	0.1	NS
I am worried about my attractiveness to the opposite sex	31	32	38	0.8	NS
I am worried about getting AIDS/HIV	18	21	21	0.4	NS
I am worried about how I get on with other people	37	32	43	2.1	NS
I am worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools	5	13	17	8.9	.05
I am worried about going out alone at night in my area	30	43	36	5.2	NS

Table A11: Comparison of values concerning worries between heritage & convert Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
I am worried about my sex life	8	17	6.4	.05*
I am worried about my attractiveness to the opposite sex	30	29	0.0	NS
I am worried about getting AIDS/HIV	21	17	0.5	NS
I am worried about how I get on with other people	36	36	0.0	NS
I am worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools	13	8	1.8	NS
I am worried about going out alone at night in my area	42	27	8.4	.01*

Yates correction applied throughout. *Removed because confounded with age difference

Appendix B:

Contents:

Full tables of Raw Data for Chapter 9

Table B1: Comparison of family values between Buddhist & religiously undifferentiated/ non-Buddhist adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.	χ^2	*p*<
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my mum	54	50*	1.4	NS
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my dad	41	35*	2.3	NS
I get on well with my family	73	79*	3.3	NS
My family are important to me	88	84*	1.6	NS
I am often embarrassed by my family	34	40*	2.9	NS
My family are supportive of me	81	84*	1.0	NS
My family disapproves of my friends	11	15*	1.7	NS
My family disapproves of what I do with my spare time	34	21*	14.9	.001
I am influenced by my family	65	59*	2.1	NS
We should keep our aging parents with us at home	53	29†	27.8	.001

**from Halsall (2004) p.230, †from Thanissaro (2012b) p.332, Yates correction applied throughout*

Table B2: Comparison of family values between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p*<
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my mum	50	55	0.8	NS
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my dad	38	38	0.0	NS
I get on well with my family	68	69	0.0	NS
My family are important to me	84	80	1.3	NS
I am often embarrassed by my family	30	20	4.4	.05
My family are supportive of me	77	71	1.4	NS
My family disapproves of my friends	12	6	3.9	.05
My family disapproves of what I do with my spare time	29	23	1.9	NS
I am influenced by my family	63	59	0.5	NS
We should keep our aging parents with us at home	49	46	0.3	NS

Yates correction applied throughout

Table B3: Comparison of family values between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my mum	55	50	1.1	NS
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my dad	41	33	2.5	NS
I get on well with my family	72	65	2.6	NS
My family are important to me	87	77	7.2	.01
I am often embarrassed by my family	35	15	21.0	.001
My family are supportive of me	79	69	5.3	.05
My family disapproves of my friends	11	8	1.0	NS
My family disapproves of what I do with my spare time	34	18	13.0	.001
I am influenced by my family	63	59	0.5	NS
We should keep our aging parents with us at home	53	41	5.3	.05

Yates correction applied throughout

Table B4: Comparison of family values between Buddhists teens of different SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my mum	53	60	53	1.3	NS
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my dad	42	40	26	4.1	NS
I get on well with my family	72	73	70	0.2	NS
My family are important to me	84	86	83	0.4	NS
I am often embarrassed by my family	26	26	32	0.7	NS
My family are supportive of me	78	77	73	0.5	NS
My family disapproves of my friends	8	10	2	3.7	NS
My family disapproves of what I do with my spare time	28	22	26	1.5	NS
I am influenced by my family	66	64	57	1.4	NS
We should keep our aging parents with us at home	44	40	16	2.7	NS

Table B5: Comparison of family values between heritage & convert Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my mum	59	42	8.9	.01
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my dad	43	30	6.3	.05*
I get on well with my family	76	53	20.6	.001
My family are important to me	89	70	20.1	.001
I am often embarrassed by my family	26	19	2.3	NS
My family are supportive of me	84	57	33.6	.001
My family disapproves of my friends	6	10	1.5	NS
My family disapproves of what I do with my spare time	33	16	12.4	.001
I am influenced by my family	74	41	38.8	.001
We should keep our aging parents with us at home	61	39	44.0	.001

*Yates correction applied throughout. *Removed because confounded with age difference*

Table B6: Comparison of values concerning friends between Buddhist and religiously undifferentiated adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd	Undiff*	χ^2	*p*<
Sometimes I feel pressured by my friends to do things I don't want to do	28	31	0.6	NS
My friends are important to me	84	94	29.7	.001
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my friends	65	65	0.0	NS
I am influenced by my friends	50	51	0.0	NS

**from Halsall (2004) p.242, Yates correction applied throughout*

Table B7: Comparison of values concerning friends between male and female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p*<
Sometimes I feel pressured by my friends to do things I don't want to do	24	23	0.0	NS
My friends are important to me	78	78	0.0	NS
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my friends	63	64	0.0	NS
I am influenced by my friends	49	46	0.3	NS
Most of my friends are Buddhist	13	14	0.0	NS
I mostly socialize with friends the same sex as me	33	35	0.0	NS

Yates correction applied throughout

Table B8: Comparison of values concerning friends between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	p<
Sometimes I feel pressured by my friends to do things I don't want to do	26	20	1.7	NS
My friends are important to me	82	73	4.7	.05
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my friends	64	62	0.1	NS
I am influenced by my friends	51	45	1.2	NS
Most of my friends are Buddhist	14	14	0.0	NS
I mostly socialize with friends the same sex as me	41	26	9.5	.01

Yates correction applied throughout

Table B9: Comparison of Buddhist teen values concerning friends across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	p<
Sometimes I feel pressured by my friends to do things I don't want to do	19	32	21	6.6	.05
My friends are important to me	80	80	83	0.3	NS
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my friends	64	66	64	0.1	NS
I am influenced by my friends	51	47	47	0.6	NS
Most of my friends are Buddhist	8	18	13	6.6	.05
I mostly socialize with friends the same sex as me	38	34	36	0.5	NS

Table B10: Comparison of values concerning friends between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	heritage	convert	χ^2	p<
Sometimes I feel pressured by my friends to do things I don't want to do	25	20	1.4	NS
My friends are important to me	84	68	11.6	.01
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my friends	71	55	9.8	.01
I am influenced by my friends	54	40	6.2	.05
Most of my friends are Buddhist	20	4	17.4	.001
I mostly socialize with friends the same sex as me	42	20	19.3	.001

Yates correction applied throughout

Table B11: Comparison of work values between between Buddhist and religiously undifferentiated adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	p<
A job gives you a sense of purpose	66	76	8.4	.01
I think it is important to work hard when I get a job	87	94	16.3	.001
I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job	77	86	10.6	.01
I would not like to be unemployed	70	85	27.1	.001
I would rather be unemployed on social security than get a job I don't like doing	26	18	6.0	.05
Most unemployed people could have a job if they really wanted to	49	51	0.1	NS

**from Francis (2001c) p.34, Yates correction applied throughout*

Table B12: Comparison of work values between between males & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	p<
A job gives you a sense of purpose	60	60	0.0	NS
I think it is important to work hard when I get a job	80	81	0.0	NS
I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job	68	66	0.2	NS
I would not like to be unemployed	66	63	0.3	NS
I would rather be unemployed on social security than get a job I don't like doing	28	20	2.6	NS
Most unemployed people could have a job if they really wanted to	48	42	1.2	NS

Yates correction applied throughout

Table B13: Comparison of work values between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
A job gives you a sense of purpose	65	55	4.5	.05
I think it is important to work hard when I get a job	85	76	5.8	.05
I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job	76	57	15.7	.001
I would not like to be unemployed	72	57	9.3	.01
I would rather be unemployed on social security than get a job I don't like doing	26	22	0.5	NS
Most unemployed people could have a job if they really wanted to	50	40	3.5	NS

Yates correction applied throughout

Table B14: Comparison of work values between Buddhist teens of different SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
A job gives you a sense of purpose	66	65	58	1.0	NS
I think it is important to work hard when I get a job	83	85	83	0.1	NS
I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job	70	68	74	0.7	NS
I would not like to be unemployed	31	28	11	0.1	NS
I would rather be unemployed on social security than get a job I don't like doing	20	26	34	4.8	NS
Most unemployed people could have a job if they really wanted to	44	46	51	0.8	NS

Table B15: Comparison of work values between heritage & convert Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	heritage	convert	χ^2	*p*<
A job gives you a sense of purpose	66	49	10.0	.01
I think it is important to work hard when I get a job	89	66	31.1	.001
I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job	82	45	52.6	.001
I would not like to be unemployed	73	52	15.4	.001
I would rather be unemployed on social security than get a job I don't like doing	24	27	0.5	NS
Most unemployed people could have a job if they really wanted to	63	23	56.0	.001

Yates correction applied throughout

Appendix C:

Contents:

Full tables of Raw Data for Chapter 10:

Table C1: Comparison of values concerning school between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	*p*<
School is boring	18	36	23.2	.001
I am happy in my school	72	71	0.0	NS
I like the people I go to school with	75	89	29.2	.001
My school is helping me prepare for life	72	67	1.3	NS
I often worry about my school work	52	63	8.6	.001
I am worried about my exams at school	65	74	6.4	.05
I am worried about being bullied at school	27	28	0.0	NS
Teachers do a good job	70	44	43.5	.001

**from Francis (2001c) p.32, Yates correction applied throughout*

Table C2: Comparison of values concerning school between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p*<
School is boring	16	19	0.2	NS
I am happy in my school	67	58	3.1	NS
I like the people I go to school with	72	59	6.9	.01
My school is helping me prepare for life	61	52	3.6	NS
I often worry about my school work	46	64	11.8	.01
I am worried about my exams at school	56	66	3.7	NS
I am worried about being bullied at school	16	21	1.0	NS
Teachers do a good job	66	57	2.8	NS

Yates correction applied throughout

Table C3: Comparison of values concerning school between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
School is boring	19	16	0.6	NS
I am happy in my school	70	55	10.1	.01
I like the people I go to school with	73	57	11.9	.01
My school is helping me prepare for life	68	35	25.8	.001
I often worry about my school work	55	53	0.1	NS
I am worried about my exams at school	65	56	3.6	NS
I am worried about being bullied at school	26	9	18.4	.001
Teachers do a good job	69	53	10.9	.01

Yates correction applied throughout

Table C4: Comparison of Buddhist teen values concerning school across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
School is boring	15	18	21	1.0	NS
I am happy in my school	68	62	70	1.4	NS
I like the people I go to school with	75	69	62	3.3	NS
My school is helping me prepare for life	64	59	60	0.9	NS
I often worry about my school work	60	53	55	1.3	NS
I am worried about my exams at school	67	61	60	1.3	NS
I am worried about being bullied at school	14	24	23	4.4	NS
Teachers do a good job	69	62	66	1.6	NS

Table C5: Comparison of values concerning school between heritage & convert Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
School is boring	14	20	2.2	NS
I am happy in my school	77	40	52.3	.001
I like the people I go to school with	77	47	34.8	.001
My school is helping me prepare for life	74	31	63.9	.001
I often worry about my school work	56	49	1.8	NS
I am worried about my exams at school	68	51	9.3	.01*
I am worried about being bullied at school	19	17	0.0	NS
Teachers do a good job	70	49	15.1	.001

*Yates correction applied throughout. *Removed because confounded with age difference.*

Table C6: Comparison of values concerning RE between Buddhist and non-Buddhist adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Non-Budd.*	χ^2	*p*<
Collective Worship (e.g. assemblies with a theme) should be held in school	37	28	3.6	NS
RE helps me understand different religions	78	45	47.7	.001
I learn new things about my own religion in Religious Education	47	27	19.4	.001
Religious Education helps people in my school respect other peoples' beliefs	77	47	39.6	.001
Religious Education is an essential part of a broad & balanced school curriculum	58	29	40.2	.001
Religious Education in my school helps me understand my religion	58	32	30.7	.001
Religious Education should be taught in school	68	44	25.6	.001

**from Thanissaro (2012a) p.207, Yates correction applied throughout*

Table C7: Comparison of values concerning RE between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p*<
Collective Worship (e.g. assemblies with a theme) should be held in school	28	29	0.0	NS
RE helps me understand different religions	67	68	0.0	NS
I learn new things about my own religion in Religious Education	35	33	0.1	NS
Religious Education helps people in my school respect other peoples' beliefs	66	76	3.9	.05
Religious Education is an essential part of a broad & balanced school curriculum	52	59	1.9	NS
Religious Education in my school helps me understand my religion	45	41	0.4	NS
Religious Education should be taught in school	60	67	2.3	NS

Yates correction applied throughout

Table C8: Comparison of values concerning RE between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
Collective Worship (e.g. assemblies with a theme) should be held in school	34	21	7.2	.01
RE helps me understand different religions	75	58	12.5	.001
I learn new things about my own religion in Religious Education	43	24	14.4	.001
Religious Education helps people in my school respect other peoples' beliefs	76	64	6.5	.05
Religious Education is an essential part of a broad & balanced school curriculum	59	50	2.5	NS
Religious Education in my school helps me understand my religion	53	32	18.0	.001
Religious Education should be taught in school	67	59	2.4	NS

Yates correction applied throughout

Table C9: Comparison of values concerning RE between Buddhist teens by SEC group (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
Collective Worship (e.g. assemblies with a theme) should be held in school	28	31	36	1.3	NS
RE helps me understand different religions	70	74	74	0.4	NS
I learn new things about my own religion in Religious Education	34	37	42	0.8	NS
Religious Education helps people in my school respect other peoples' beliefs	70	76	72	1.4	NS
Religious Education is an essential part of a broad & balanced school curriculum	56	64	49	4.0	NS
Religious Education in my school helps me understand my religion	47	46	53	0.8	NS
Religious Education should be taught in school	63	71	66	2.3	NS

Table C10: Comparison of values concerning RE between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	heritage	convert	χ^2	*p*<
Collective Worship (e.g. assemblies with a theme) should be held in school	36	18	13.2	.001
RE helps me understand different religions	74	53	16.7	.001
I learn new things about my own religion in Religious Education	42	20	17.4	.001
Religious Education helps people in my school respect other peoples' beliefs	79	56	22.6	.001
Religious Education is an essential part of a broad & balanced school curriculum	62	45	8.9	.01*
Religious Education in my school helps me understand my religion	50	31	12.0	.01*
Religious Education should be taught in school	70	51	12.9	.001

*Yates correction applied throughout. *Removed because confounded with age difference.*

Appendix D:

Contents:

Full tables of Raw Data for Chapter 11:

Table D1: Comparison of values concerning stereotyping & discrimination between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated adolescents

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	*p*<
There are too many foreign people in the UK	26	37	6.8	.01
In the UK there is a lot of discrimination against Asian people	41	40	0.1	NS
In the UK there is a lot of discrimination against White people	10	11	0.2	NS
Adults do not respect young people	31	47	14.9	.001
Adults do not listen to young people	40	65	44.5	.001
The media make young people look bad	41	47	2.3	NS

**from Halsall (2004) p.313, 323. Yates correction applied.*

Table D2: Comparison of values concerning stereotyping & discrimination between male & female teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p*<
There are too many foreign people in the UK	20	25	1.0	NS
In the UK there is a lot of discrimination against Asian people	42	36	1.0	NS
In the UK there is a lot of discrimination against White people	11	7	1.5	NS
Adults do not respect young people	35	26	3.7	NS
Adults do not listen to young people	41	41	0.0	NS
The media make young people look bad	49	46	0.2	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table D3: Comparison of values concerning stereotyping & discrimination between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
There are too many foreign people in the UK	24	21	0.4	NS
In the UK there is a lot of discrimination against Asian people	39	39	0.0	NS
In the UK there is a lot of discrimination against White people	9	9	0.0	NS
Adults do not respect young people	30	31	0.0	NS
Adults do not listen to young people	39	44	0.7	NS
The media make young people look bad	43	53	3.8	NS

Yates correction applied throughout

Table D4: Comparison of Buddhist teen values concerning stereotyping & discrimination across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
There are too many foreign people in the UK	21	19	28	1.8	NS
In the UK there is a lot of discrimination against Asian people	41	39	45	0.6	NS
In the UK there is a lot of discrimination against White people	9	9	8	0.1	NS
Adults do not respect young people	31	35	17	6.1	.05
Adults do not listen to young people	37	49	34	5.8	NS
The media make young people look bad	51	51	42	1.6	NS

Table D5: Comparison of values concerning stereotyping & discrimination between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
There are too many foreign people in the UK	31	10	22.0	.001
In the UK there is a lot of discrimination against Asian people	40	40	0.0	NS
In the UK there is a lot of discrimination against White people	6	12	3.5	NS
Adults do not respect young people	23	40	11.1	.001
Adults do not listen to young people	37	47	3.2	NS
The media make young people look bad	42	54	4.4	.05*

*Yates correction applied throughout. *Removed because confounded with age difference.*

Table D6: Comparison of values on social concern between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated adolescents

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	*p*<
There is too much violence on television	37	20	31.2	.001
Pornography is too readily available	52	32	28.6	.001
I am concerned about the risk of pollution to the environment	66	64	0.1	NS
I am concerned about the poverty of the Third World	62	60	0.3	NS
I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war	42	55	10.9	.001
There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems	11	24	14.6	.001

**from Francis (2001c) p.44. Yates correction applied throughout.*

Table D7: Comparison of values on social concern between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p*<
There is too much violence on television	32	46	8.4	.01
Pornography is too readily available	49	57	2.6	NS
I am concerned about the risk of pollution to the environment	66	69	0.3	NS
I am concerned about the poverty of the Third World	62	65	0.2	NS
I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war	41	42	0.0	NS
There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems	10	6	1.3	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table D8: Comparison of values on social concern between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
There is too much violence on television	36	42	1.2	NS
Pornography is too readily available	54	51	0.3	NS
I am concerned about the risk of pollution to the environment	68	66	0.2	NS
I am concerned about the poverty of the Third World	63	63	0.0	NS
I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war	44	39	0.8	NS
There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems	11	5	4.9	.05

Yates correction applied throughout

Table D9: Comparison of Buddhist teen values on social concern across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
There is too much violence on television	36	38	43	0.8	NS
Pornography is too readily available	57	52	60	1.3	NS
I am concerned about the risk of pollution to the environment	66	74	66	2.5	NS
I am concerned about the poverty of the Third World	67	69	62	0.8	NS
I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war	38	52	32	7.8	.05
There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems	6	11	6	2.8	NS

Table D10: Comparison of values on social concern between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
There is too much violence on television	38	39	0.0	NS
Pornography is too readily available	55	50	0.6	NS
I am concerned about the risk of pollution to the environment	67	67	0.0	NS
I am concerned about the poverty of the Third World	62	64	0.2	NS
I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war	38	45	1.8	NS
There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems	8	6	0.4	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table D11: Comparison of values concerning the media between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated respondents

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	*p*<
I am influenced by celebrities	26	36	5.8	.05
I cannot imagine life without TV	30	55	38.6	.001
I cannot imagine life without my music	52	52	0.0	NS
Sometimes I buy things because I've seen them on TV	39	60	28.6	.001
The music I listen to is important to me	61	67	2.6	NS
The music I listen to influences my mood	68	70	0.0	NS

**from Halsall (2004) p.335. Yates correction applied throughout.*

Table D12: Comparison of values concerning media between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p*<
I am influenced by celebrities	18	27	4.2	.05
I cannot imagine life without TV	24	22	0.1	NS
I cannot imagine life without my music	49	55	1.2	NS
I cannot imagine life without internet access	48	55	1.8	NS
I cannot imagine life without video games	27	9	19.2	.001
Sometimes I buy things because I've seen them on TV	32	30	0.0	NS
The music I listen to is important to me	60	64	0.5	NS
The music I listen to influences my mood	63	65	0.0	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table D13: Comparison of values concerning the media between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
I am influenced by celebrities	29	13	15.2	.001
I cannot imagine life without TV	31	15	14.8	.001
I cannot imagine life without my music	52	52	0.0	NS
I cannot imagine life without internet access	52	50	0.2	NS
I cannot imagine life without video games	27	9	21.5	.001
Sometimes I buy things because I've seen them on TV	36	24	6.4	.05
The music I listen to is important to me	62	60	0.1	NS
The music I listen to influences my mood	67	60	2.0	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table D14: Comparison of Buddhist teen values concerning the media across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
I am influenced by celebrities	19	25	26	2.0	NS
I cannot imagine life without TV	22	26	26	0.6	NS
I cannot imagine life without my music	54	54	57	0.1	NS
I cannot imagine life without internet access	48	55	57	1.9	NS
I cannot imagine life without video games	18	20	24	1.2	NS
Sometimes I buy things because I've seen them on TV	34	32	38	0.7	NS
The music I listen to is important to me	64	63	60	0.2	NS
The music I listen to influences my mood	66	67	66	0.0	NS

Table D15: Comparison of values concerning the media between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
I am influenced by celebrities	26	12	10.0	.01*
I cannot imagine life without TV	35	9	31.8	.001
I cannot imagine life without my music	50	52	0.0	NS
I cannot imagine life without internet access	62	33	27.9	.001
I cannot imagine life without video games	24	10	11.8	.01
Sometimes I buy things because I've seen them on TV	40	16	22.5	.001
The music I listen to is important to me	59	64	0.6	NS
The music I listen to influences my mood	65	60	0.9	NS

*Yates correction applied throughout. *Removed as confounded with age difference*

Table D16: Comparison of collectivist values between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p*<
I would not sacrifice friendship with others to get ahead in life	56	53	0.2	NS
I like to live close to my close friends	56	55	0.0	NS
I would do what pleases my family, even if I detest that activity	40	41	0.0	NS
I am a unique individual	69	70	0.0	NS
It annoys me when other people perform better than I do	26	21	1.1	NS
The wellbeing of my fellow students/workers is important to me	73	65	3.0	NS
I think it is important to learn at least one Asian language	58	50	2.5	NS
I would want to go and live in Asia some day	41	46	0.7	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table D17: Comparison of collectivist values between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
I would not sacrifice friendship with others to get ahead in life	57	52	0.8	NS
I like to live close to my close friends	60	51	2.7	NS
I would do what pleases my family, even if I detest that activity	43	37	1.4	NS
I am a unique individual	73	66	2.2	NS
It annoys me when other people perform better than I do	24	23	0.0	NS
The wellbeing of my fellow students/workers is important to me	72	66	1.7	NS
I think it is important to learn at least one Asian language	61	46	8.8	.01
I would want to go and live in Asia some day	43	44	0.0	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table D18: Comparison of Buddhist teen collectivist values across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
I would not sacrifice friendship with others to get ahead in life	57	54	60	0.8	NS
I like to live close to my close friends	62	57	58	0.5	NS
I would do what pleases my family, even if I detest that activity	33	42	53	6.8	.05
I am a unique individual	75	73	58	5.4	NS
It annoys me when other people perform better than I do	28	17	30	6.4	.05
The wellbeing of my fellow students/workers is important to me	74	74	66	1.4	NS
I think it is important to learn at least one Asian language	46	59	68	9.2	.05
I would want to go and live in Asia some day	34	48	57	10.0	.01

Table D19: Comparison of values concerning collectivism between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
I would not sacrifice friendship with others to get ahead in life	58	51	1.4	NS
I like to live close to my close friends	58	48	3.5	NS
I would do what pleases my family, even if I detest that activity	54	25	28.6	.001
I am a unique individual	72	65	1.8	NS
It annoys me when other people perform better than I do	28	17	5.5	.05*
The wellbeing of my fellow students/workers is important to me	75	61	7.9	.01
I think it is important to learn at least one Asian language	72	27	69.8	.001
I would want to go and live in Asia some day	45	40	0.5	NS

*Yates correction applied throughout. *Removed because confounded with age difference*

Appendix E:

Contents:

Full tables of Raw Data for Chapter 12:

Table E1: Comparison of values concerning right & wrong between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated respondents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	p<
There is nothing wrong in shoplifting	4	7	2.7	NS
There is nothing wrong in travelling on public transport without a ticket	8	20	13.2	.001
There is nothing wrong in cycling after dark without lights	7	17	11.2	.001
There is nothing wrong in playing truant (wagging) from school	5	17	14.3	.001
There is nothing wrong in buying cigarettes under the legal age (16 years)	7	29	38.2	.001
There is nothing wrong in buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (18 years)	11	41	62.2	.001
There is nothing wrong in writing graffiti (tagging) wherever you like	5	13	7.5	.01
The police do a good job	51	54	0.4	NS

**from Francis (2001c) p.50. Yates correction applied throughout.*

Table E2: Comparison of values concerning right & wrong between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	p<
There is nothing wrong in shoplifting	5	2	1.6	NS
There is nothing wrong in travelling on public transport without a ticket	12	6	3.4	NS
There is nothing wrong in cycling after dark without lights	11	4	5.9	.05
There is nothing wrong in playing truant (wagging) from school	10	5	3.7	NS
There is nothing wrong in buying cigarettes under the legal age (16 years)	8	6	0.4	NS
There is nothing wrong in buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (18 years)	16	8	5.4	.05
There is nothing wrong in writing graffiti (tagging) wherever you like	8	7	0.0	NS
The police do a good job	50	42	2.1	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table E3: Comparison of values concerning right & wrong between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	p<
There is nothing wrong in shoplifting	4	3	0.6	NS
There is nothing wrong in travelling on public transport without a ticket	9	9	0.0	NS
There is nothing wrong in cycling after dark without lights	8	7	0.1	NS
There is nothing wrong in playing truant (wagging) from school	7	9	0.4	NS
There is nothing wrong in buying cigarettes under the legal age (16 years)	9	6	1.1	NS
There is nothing wrong in buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (18 years)	12	14	0.1	NS
There is nothing wrong in writing graffiti (tagging) wherever you like	5	10	3.1	NS
The police do a good job	52	39	6.9	.01

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table E4: Comparison of Buddhist teen values concerning right & wrong across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	*Admin.*	*Elem.*	χ^2	*p<*
There is nothing wrong in shoplifting	3	2	6	1.4	NS
There is nothing wrong in travelling on public transport without a ticket	12	8	4	3.6	NS
There is nothing wrong in cycling after dark without lights	10	6	9	1.4	NS
There is nothing wrong in playing truant (wagging) from school	5	8	11	2.1	NS
There is nothing wrong in buying cigarettes under the legal age (16 years)	9	7	8	0.5	NS
There is nothing wrong in buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (18 years)	14	12	13	0.1	NS
There is nothing wrong in writing graffiti (tagging) wherever you like	3	9	13	8.6	.05
The police do a good job	51	50	47	0.2	NS

Table E5: Comparison of values concerning right & wrong between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p<*
There is nothing wrong in shoplifting	3	4	0.0	NS
There is nothing wrong in travelling on public transport without a ticket	6	13	3.6	NS
There is nothing wrong in cycling after dark without lights	5	10	3.2	NS
There is nothing wrong in playing truant (wagging) from school	6	10	1.0	NS
There is nothing wrong in buying cigarettes under the legal age (16 years)	6	10	1.4	NS
There is nothing wrong in buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (18 years)	9	17	4.3	.05
There is nothing wrong in writing graffiti (tagging) wherever you like	7	10	1.1	NS
The police do a good job	54	35	12.2	.001

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table E6: Comparison of values concerning substance use between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated adolescents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	p<
It is wrong to smoke cigarettes	67	41	44.3	.001
It is wrong to get drunk	52	19	114.2	.001
It is wrong to use marijuana (hash or pot)	48	50	0.1	NS
It is wrong to use heroin	72	72	0.0	NS
It is wrong to sniff glue	60	77	25.6	.001
It is wrong to sniff butane gas	55	57	0.2	NS

**from Francis (2001c) p.48. Yates correction applied throughout.*

Table E7: Comparison of values concerning substance use between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p<*
It is wrong to smoke cigarettes	61	54	1.6	NS
It is wrong to get drunk	42	40	0.1	NS
It is wrong to use marijuana (hash or pot)	42	42	0.0	NS
It is wrong to use heroin	64	68	0.4	NS
It is wrong to sniff glue	60	56	0.4	NS
It is wrong to sniff butane gas	55	46	2.8	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table E8: Comparison of values concerning substance use between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
It is wrong to smoke cigarettes	66	48	12.1	.01
It is wrong to get drunk	50	31	13.9	.001
It is wrong to use marijuana (hash or pot)	51	33	12.8	.001
It is wrong to use heroin	72	59	6.3	.05
It is wrong to sniff glue	60	56	0.8	NS
It is wrong to sniff butane gas	54	47	1.7	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table E9: Comparison of Buddhist teen values concerning substance use across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
It is wrong to smoke cigarettes	60	61	57	0.3	NS
It is wrong to get drunk	42	43	42	0.0	NS
It is wrong to use marijuana (hash or pot)	43	46	45	0.3	NS
It is wrong to use heroin	67	71	64	0.8	NS
It is wrong to sniff glue	63	62	55	1.2	NS
It is wrong to sniff butane gas	57	54	42	4.0	NS

Table E10. Comparison of values concerning substance use between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
It is wrong to smoke cigarettes	71	34	47.9	.001
It is wrong to get drunk	54	20	38.7	.001
It is wrong to use marijuana (hash or pot)	57	23	38.8	.001
It is wrong to use heroin	80	45	45.4	.001
It is wrong to sniff glue	66	49	9.7	.01
It is wrong to sniff butane gas	56	44	4.0	.05*

*Yates correction applied throughout.*Removed because confounded with age difference.*

Table E11: Comparison of traditionalism between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated young people (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	*p*<
God is very important in my life	17	16	0.1	NS
It is important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith	54	29	34.8	.001
It is important for a child to learn to be independent and self-determined®	77	67	6.7	.01
Abortion is never justifiable	21	20	0.0	NS
I have a strong sense of national pride	39	38	0.0	NS
I respect those who are in authority	55	69	12.0	.001
I would not describe myself as happy	14	3	18.6	.001
Homosexuality is never justifiable	7	15	9.6	.01
I would never sign a petition	5	11	6.6	.01
You have to be very careful about trusting people	66	73	3.7	NS

**Comparison data from UK 18- to 29-year-olds from the WVS (2005) cohort questions V192, V19/21, V12, V204, V209, V78, V10, V202, V96 and V23. Yates correction applied throughout.*

Table E12: Comparison of traditionalism between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p*<
God is very important in my life	15	20	1.3	NS
It is important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith	53	56	0.2	NS
It is important for a child to learn to be independent and self-determined®	79	75	0.6	NS
Abortion is never justifiable	18	25	2.4	NS
I have a strong sense of national pride	39	38	0.0	NS
I respect those who are in authority	55	55	0.0	NS
I would not describe myself as happy	12	17	1.5	NS
Homosexuality is never justifiable	8	5	1.2	NS
I would never sign a petition	7	3	2.9	NS
You have to be very careful about trusting people	62	70	2.3	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table E13: Comparison of traditionalism between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
God is very important in my life	20	15	1.5	NS
It is important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith	63	44	14.9	.001
It is important for a child to learn to be independent and self-determined®	81	72	3.8	NS
Abortion is never justifiable	24	19	1.2	NS
I have a strong sense of national pride	41	35	1.3	NS
I respect those who are in authority	62	46	10.6	.01
I would not describe myself as happy	15	13	0.2	NS
Homosexuality is never justifiable	10	3	7.0	.01
I would never sign a petition	4	5	0.0	NS
You have to be very careful about trusting people	73	57	10.5	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table E14: Comparison of Buddhist teen traditionalism across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
God is very important in my life	17	17	28	3.8	NS
It is important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith	50	56	70	6.2	.05
It is important for a child to learn to be independent and self-determined®	80	78	81	0.4	NS
Abortion is never justifiable	19	24	30	3.0	NS
I have a strong sense of national pride	40	38	45	0.8	NS
I respect those who are in authority	55	58	60	0.4	NS
I would not describe myself as happy	12	15	21	2.6	NS
Homosexuality is never justifiable	7	6	4	0.7	NS
I would never sign a petition	3	6	6	1.1	NS
You have to be very careful about trusting people	64	70	68	1.0	NS

Table E15: Comparison of traditionalism between heritage & convert teen Buddhists (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
God is very important in my life	23	7	14.8	.001
It is important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith	74	25	83.1	.001
It is important for a child to learn to be independent and self-determined®	84	64	20.1	.001
Abortion is never justifiable	28	12	13.5	.001
I have a strong sense of national pride	49	24	21.7	.001
I respect those who are in authority	69	34	43.7	.001
I would not describe myself as happy	13	15	0.2	NS
Homosexuality is never justifiable	10	1	9.6	.01
I would never sign a petition	6	3	1.2	NS
You have to be very careful about trusting people	76	47	32.2	.001

Yates correction applied throughout.

Appendix F:

Contents:

Full tables of Raw Data for Chapter 13:

Table F1: Comparison of theistic beliefs between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	p<
I believe in God	18	20	0.1	NS
I believe that Jesus really rose from the dead	7	7	0.0	NS
I believe in life after death	48	55	1.6	NS
I think Christianity is the only true religion	2	0	0.5	NS
I think Buddhism is the only true religion	20	28	2.9	NS
I believe that God made the world in six days and rested on the seventh	6	3	1.6	NS
I believe God is vital to my salvation	14	16	0.1	NS
I believe God exists	19	21	0.3	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table F2: Comparison of theistic beliefs between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	p<
I believe in God	21	16	1.5	NS
I believe that Jesus really rose from the dead	9	5	2.2	NS
I believe in life after death	57	45	5.1	.05
I think Christianity is the only true religion	1	1	0.1	NS
I think Buddhism is the only true religion	25	21	0.7	NS
I believe that God made the world in six days and rested on the seventh	6	3	1.5	NS
I believe God is vital to my salvation	16	13	0.7	NS
I believe God exists	21	18	0.4	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table F3: Comparison of theistic beliefs across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	p<
I believe in God	14	20	28	5.3	NS
I believe that Jesus really rose from the dead	5	11	4	4.5	NS
I believe in life after death	48	60	57	4.0	NS
I think Christianity is the only true religion	2	1	2	0.8	NS
I think Buddhism is the only true religion	17	24	28	3.9	NS
I believe that God made the world in six days and rested on the seventh	5	4	6	0.4	NS
I believe God is vital to my salvation	7	16	24	10.9	.01
I believe God exists	14	19	32	8.1	.05

Table F4: Comparison of theistic beliefs between heritage & convert Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	p<
I believe in God	25	10	11.2	.01
I believe that Jesus really rose from the dead	9	3	3.3	NS
I believe in life after death	60	40	13.1	.001
I think Christianity is the only true religion	1	0	0.6	NS
I think Buddhism is the only true religion	31	14	14.1	.001
I believe that God made the world in six days and rested on the seventh	6	2	2.1	NS
I believe God is vital to my salvation	20	8	9.7	.01
I believe God exists	26	10	13.0	.001

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table F5: Comparison of religious convictions between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p*<
I would seriously consider becoming a monk or nun	24	15	5.2	.05
I consider myself a proper Buddhist	39	37	0.1	NS
I feel the need for a Buddhist spiritual teacher	39	46	1.9	NS
I like to practise things from several different Buddhist traditions	40	36	0.4	NS
I am a spiritual person	42	46	0.5	NS
I am a religious person	44	42	0.1	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table F6: Comparison of religious convictions between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
I would seriously consider becoming a monk or nun	16	23	2.8	.05
I consider myself a proper Buddhist	42	33	3.1	NS
I feel the need for a Buddhist spiritual teacher	38	47	3.2	NS
I like to practise things from several different Buddhist traditions	37	40	0.1	NS
I am a spiritual person	40	48	2.3	NS
I am a religious person	50	36	7.5	.01

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table F7: Comparison of Buddhist teen religious convictions across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
I would seriously consider becoming a monk or nun	18	22	15	1.6	NS
I consider myself a proper Buddhist	36	40	32	1.3	NS
I feel the need for a Buddhist spiritual teacher	36	45	45	2.5	NS
I like to practise things from several different Buddhist traditions	32	42	40	2.8	NS
I am a spiritual person	38	47	45	2.2	NS
I am a religious person	41	46	42	0.6	NS

Table F8: Comparison of religious convictions between heritage & convert Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
I would seriously consider becoming a monk or nun	16	24	3.6	NS
I consider myself a proper Buddhist	46	27	12.2	.001
I feel the need for a Buddhist spiritual teacher	42	44	0.1	NS
I like to practise things from several different Buddhist traditions	38	42	0.4	NS
I am a spiritual person	37	58	14.7	.001
I am a religious person	52	30	17.1	.001

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table F9: Comparison of 'religion & society' values between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated respondents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.	χ^2	*p*<
I believe that I can be a Buddhist without going to a Buddhist temple	53	45*	3.8	NS
The temple community seems irrelevant to life today	16	27*	10.7	.01
Buddhist teachings seem irrelevant to life today	15	30*	17.8	.001
I want my children to grow up to be Buddhist	50	53*	0.6	NS
I would choose to marry someone else who was Buddhist	25	73*	186.5	.001
Buddhist temples are boring	8	51*	120.3	.001
Buddhist monks do a good job	83	35*	164.9	.001
Buddhism has been replaced by Science ®	9	32[§]	38.4	.001

**from Francis (2001c) p.38, [§]from Halsall (2004) p.347. Yates correction applied throughout.*

Table F10: Comparison of 'religion & society' values between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p*<
I believe that I can be a Buddhist without going to a Buddhist temple	57	58	0.0	NS
Doing meditation is sufficient as Buddhist practice	50	50	0.0	NS
The temple community seems irrelevant to life today	12	8	1.4	NS
Buddhist teachings seem irrelevant to life today	10	12	0.3	NS
I want my children to grow up to be Buddhist	43	54	5.0	.05
I would choose to marry someone else who was Buddhist	31	36	1.1	NS
Buddhist temples are boring	8	4	2.2	NS
Buddhist monks do a good job	74	72	0.2	NS
Buddhism depends on blind faith ®	5	6	0.0	NS
Buddhism has been replaced by Science ®	7	12	1.9	NS
It is important to be a vegetarian	18	22	0.8	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table F11: Comparison of 'religion & society' values between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
I believe that I can be a Buddhist without going to a Buddhist temple	54	61	1.6	NS
Doing meditation is sufficient as Buddhist practice	60	38	20.1	.001
The temple community seems irrelevant to life today	13	7	3.4	NS
Buddhist teachings seem irrelevant to life today	13	8	2.7	NS
I want my children to grow up to be Buddhist	50	46	0.5	NS
I would choose to marry someone else who was Buddhist	29	39	3.5	NS
Buddhist temples are boring	7	4	1.2	NS
Buddhist monks do a good job	81	64	15.8	.001
Buddhism depends on blind faith ®	7	4	1.2	NS
Buddhism has been replaced by Science ®	9	9	0.0	NS
It is important to be a vegetarian	18	22	0.8	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table F12: Comparison of Buddhist teen 'religion & society' values across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
I believe that I can be a Buddhist without going to a Buddhist temple	60	61	55	0.6	NS
Doing meditation is sufficient as Buddhist practice	49	47	55	0.9	NS
The temple community seems irrelevant to life today	12	10	11	0.3	NS
Buddhist teachings seem irrelevant to life today	8	12	15	2.3	NS
I want my children to grow up to be Buddhist	45	53	47	2.0	NS
I would choose to marry someone else who was Buddhist	32	32	30	0.1	NS
Buddhist temples are boring	7	6	9	0.8	NS
Buddhist monks do a good job	70	80	79	4.2	NS
Buddhism depends on blind faith ®	7	2	9	5.0	NS
Buddhism has been replaced by Science ®	6	11	8	2.3	NS
It is important to be a vegetarian	21	20	15	0.8	NS

Table F13: Comparison of 'religion & society' values between heritage & convert Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
I believe that I can be a Buddhist without going to a Buddhist temple	55	62	1.2	NS
Doing meditation is sufficient as Buddhist practice	56	36	12.7	.001
The temple community seems irrelevant to life today	12	8	1.7	NS
Buddhist teachings seem irrelevant to life today	16	4	10.6	.01
I want my children to grow up to be Buddhist	61	29	35.7	.001
I would choose to marry someone else who was Buddhist	35	31	0.6	NS
Buddhist temples are boring	8	0	10.6	.01
Buddhist monks do a good job	82	59	23.5	.001
Buddhism depends on blind faith ®	8	3	2.0	NS
Buddhism has been replaced by Science ®	12	3	7.1	.01
It is important to be a vegetarian	13	29	12.7	.001

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table F14: Comparison of values concerning the supernatural between Buddhist and religiously-undifferentiated respondents (% agreement)

	Budd.	Undiff.*	χ^2	*p*<
I believe in my horoscope	23	35	9.7	.01
I believe in ghosts	35	40	1.2	NS
I believe in the Devil (Mara)	23	22	0.2	NS
I believe in black magic	10	20	9.2	.01
I believe fortune-tellers can tell the future	12	19	5.4	.05
I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead	23	31	4.6	.05
I am frightened of going into a church alone	21	11	14.5	.001

**from Francis (2001c) p.40. Yates correction applied throughout.*

Table F15: Comparison of values concerning the supernatural between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p*<
I believe in my horoscope	15	24	5.2	.05
I believe in ghosts	28	43	8.6	.01
I believe in angels	21	33	6.4	.05
I believe in the Devil (Mara)	21	24	0.4	NS
I believe in black magic	10	15	1.8	NS
I believe fortune-tellers can tell the future	9	12	0.5	NS
I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead	20	26	1.2	NS
I am frightened of going into a temple alone	14	17	0.3	NS
I am frightened of going into a church alone	14	15	0.0	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table F16: Comparison of values concerning the supernatural between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	*p*<
I believe in my horoscope	22	16	2.2	NS
I believe in ghosts	34	36	0.1	NS
I believe in angels	29	24	1.0	NS
I believe in the Devil (Mara)	24	20	0.6	NS
I believe in black magic	10	14	1.1	NS
I believe fortune-tellers can tell the future	11	10	0.0	NS
I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead	20	26	1.2	NS
I am frightened of going into a temple alone	18	12	1.8	NS
I am frightened of going into a church alone	18	10	5.2	.05

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table F17: Comparison of Buddhist teen values concerning the supernatural across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	*p*<
I believe in my horoscope	15	22	24	3.5	NS
I believe in ghosts	26	46	42	12.0	.01
I believe in angels	19	31	36	8.1	.05
I believe in the Devil (Mara)	15	29	23	8.0	.05
I believe in black magic	7	12	23	8.7	.05
I believe fortune-tellers can tell the future	10	10	17	2.4	NS
I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead	17	30	26	7.1	.05
I am frightened of going into a temple alone	9	23	19	10.7	.01
I am frightened of going into a church alone	10	18	13	4.0	NS

Table F18: Comparison of values concerning the supernatural between heritage & convert Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
I believe in my horoscope	24	13	5.5	.05*
I believe in ghosts	36	32	0.4	NS
I believe in angels	30	20	4.7	.05
I believe in the Devil (Mara)	23	20	0.3	NS
I believe in black magic	12	13	0.1	NS
I believe fortune-tellers can tell the future	13	8	1.5	NS
I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead	22	24	0.1	NS
I am frightened of going into a temple alone	12	19	3.1	NS
I am frightened of going into a church alone	13	14	0.0	NS

*Yates correction applied throughout. *Removed because confounded with age difference.*

Table F19: Comparison of attitude towards Buddhism between male & female Buddhist teens (% agreement)

	Male	Female	χ^2	*p*<
I like how Buddhists train their minds through prayer and meditation	75	77	0.2	NS
I like the way Buddhists offer flowers and incense to statues of Buddha	70	73	0.4	NS
Eightfold Path seems a good way to achieve happiness	64	63	0.0	NS
I admire Buddhists for respecting all living things	82	80	0.3	NS
I find it inspiring to hear Buddhist stories	71	74	0.4	NS
I like how Buddhists encourage people to become friends on Sangha Day (*with the following alternative wordings*)	69	67	0.1	NS
• Sangha Day is important to me	42	50	2.2	NS
• People should be encouraged to be friends	68	68	0.0	NS
• I like the Buddhist idea of encouraging people to be friends	74	76	0.1	NS
Spending time as a Buddhist monk is beneficial to the world at large	53	53	0.0	NS
I like how some Buddhists spend time in meditation as monks or nuns	64	67	0.4	NS
Buddhists should have respect for those worthy of respect	69	66	0.3	NS
I like the Buddhist idea of having a calm mind	81	80	0.1	NS
I respect Buddhists for giving food and money to their monks	75	76	0.0	NS
I respect the Buddhist idea that understanding is more important than belief	78	72	1.9	NS
It is important for Buddhists to spend time meditating	72	74	0.1	NS
It is necessary for us to share what we have with others	73	71	0.1	NS
Enjoying life or hating it depends on how we see the world	68	74	1.5	NS
Spending time meditating is a constructive use of one's time	61	62	0.0	NS
Buddhists should not to kill any sort of animal	66	67	0.0	NS
It is necessary for us to give support to the poor and the needy	83	80	0.4	NS
Nirvana is the ultimate peace	57	60	0.3	NS
Buddhists should avoid drinking alcohol	48	50	0.1	NS
Buddhists should look after their parents in their old age	75	76	0.1	NS
People who have helped us a lot deserve our special respect	78	76	0.2	NS
If a person does good deeds, bad things will come back to them®	12	9	0.8	NS
I would enjoy killing any sort of animal®	2	1	0.0	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table F20: Comparison of attitude towards Buddhism between Buddhists in their early & late teens (% agreement)

	Early	Late	χ^2	p<
I like how Buddhists train their minds through prayer and meditation	79	72	1.9	NS
I like the way Buddhists offer flowers and incense to statues of Buddha	77	65	7.1	.01
Eightfold Path seems a good way to achieve happiness	68	59	2.6	NS
I admire Buddhists for respecting all living things	86	76	6.4	.05
I find it inspiring to hear Buddhist stories	74	71	0.4	NS
I like how Buddhists encourage people to become friends on Sangha Day (*with the following alternative wordings*)	68	68	0.0	NS
• Sangha Day is important to me	50	40	3.5	NS
• People should be encouraged to be friends	67	69	0.1	NS
• I like the Buddhist idea of encouraging people to be friends	77	72	1.1	NS
Spending time as a Buddhist monk is beneficial to the world at large	53	52	0.0	NS
I like how some Buddhists spend time in meditation as monks or nuns	68	62	1.4	NS
Buddhists should have respect for those worthy of respect	74	61	7.2	.01
I like the Buddhist idea of having a calm mind	85	76	5.2	.05
I respect Buddhists for giving food and money to their monks	82	67	11.8	.01
I respect the Buddhist idea that understanding is more important than belief	77	73	0.5	NS
It is important for Buddhists to spend time meditating	77	68	4.4	.05
It is necessary for us to share what we have with others	73	70	0.3	NS
Enjoying life or hating it depends on how we see the world	71	71	0.0	NS
Spending time meditating is a constructive use of one's time	57	66	3.0	NS
Buddhists should not to kill any sort of animal	70	62	2.8	NS
It is necessary for us to give support to the poor and the needy	87	76	7.2	.01
Nirvana is the ultimate peace	60	57	0.4	NS
Buddhists should avoid drinking alcohol	55	43	5.0	.05
Buddhists should look after their parents in their old age	80	70	4.8	.05
People who have helped us a lot deserve our special respect	81	71	5.2	.05
If a person does good deeds, bad things will come back to them®	12	9	0.3	NS
I would enjoy killing any sort of animal®	1	2	0.0	NS

Yates correction applied throughout.

Table F21: Comparison of Buddhist teen attitude towards Buddhism across SEC groups (% agreement)

	Man.	Admin.	Elem.	χ^2	p<
I like how Buddhists train their minds through prayer and meditation	76	81	72	2.2	NS
I like the way Buddhists offer flowers and incense to statues of Buddha	73	73	74	0.0	NS
Eightfold Path seems a good way to achieve happiness	66	65	60	0.6	NS
I admire Buddhists for respecting all living things	82	86	87	0.9	NS
I find it inspiring to hear Buddhist stories	72	75	79	1.3	NS
I like how Buddhists encourage people to become friends on Sangha Day (*with the following alternative wordings*)	62	73	74	4.5	NS
• Sangha Day is important to me	38	48	47	2.8	NS
• People should be encouraged to be friends	67	73	72	1.3	NS
• I like the Buddhist idea of encouraging people to be friends	73	80	77	2.4	NS
Spending time as a Buddhist monk is beneficial to the world at large	45	62	51	7.8	.05
I like how some Buddhists spend time in meditation as monks or nuns	63	69	62	1.5	NS
Buddhists should have respect for those worthy of respect	75	71	62	3.1	NS
I like the Buddhist idea of having a calm mind	82	85	79	1.1	NS
I respect Buddhists for giving food and money to their monks	76	81	77	1.1	NS
I respect the Buddhist idea that understanding is more important than belief	77	79	76	0.2	NS
It is important for Buddhists to spend time meditating	72	76	72	0.5	NS
It is necessary for us to share what we have with others	72	75	76	0.4	NS
Enjoying life or hating it depends on how we see the world	71	76	72	0.9	NS
Spending time meditating is a constructive use of one's time	65	60	60	0.7	NS
Buddhists should not to kill any sort of animal	70	70	58	2.8	NS
It is necessary for us to give support to the poor and the needy	82	88	83	2.4	NS
Nirvana is the ultimate peace	61	61	57	0.3	NS
Buddhists should avoid drinking alcohol	48	54	51	1.2	NS
Buddhists should look after their parents in their old age	80	76	77	0.4	NS
People who have helped us a lot deserve our special respect	80	77	79	0.3	NS
If a person does good deeds, bad things will come back to them®	11	14	4	4.1	NS
I would enjoy killing any sort of animal®	1	2	2	0.6	NS

Table F22: Comparison of attitude towards Buddhism between heritage & convert Buddhist teens

	Heritage	Convert	χ^2	*p*<
I like how Buddhists train their minds through prayer and meditation	80	67	7.9	.01
I like the way Buddhists offer flowers and incense to statues of Buddha	80	58	20.9	.001
Eightfold Path seems a good way to achieve happiness	67	60	1.4	NS
I admire Buddhists for respecting all living things	87	71	12.7	.001
I find it inspiring to hear Buddhist stories	76	68	2.7	NS
I like how Buddhists encourage people to become friends on Sangha Day (*with the following alternative wordings*)	72	63	3.0	NS
• Sangha Day is important to me	50	40	3.2	NS
• People should be encouraged to be friends	72	60	5.8	.05*
• I like the Buddhist idea of encouraging people to be friends	80	66	8.0	.01
Spending time as a Buddhist monk is beneficial to the world at large	55	45	2.9	NS
I like how some Buddhists spend time in meditation as monks or nuns	70	56	7.9	.01
Buddhists should have respect for those worthy of respect	74	58	9.9	.01
I like the Buddhist idea of having a calm mind	87	69	16.9	.001
I respect Buddhists for giving food and money to their monks	84	61	24.0	.001
I respect the Buddhist idea that understanding is more important than belief	78	69	3.4	NS
It is important for Buddhists to spend time meditating	76	64	5.4	.05*
It is necessary for us to share what we have with others	77	64	7.6	.01
Enjoying life or hating it depends on how we see the world	74	64	3.4	NS
Spending time meditating is a constructive use of one's time	59	66	1.3	NS
Buddhists should not to kill any sort of animal	74	54	13.9	.001
It is necessary for us to give support to the poor and the needy	88	72	13.4	.001
Nirvana is the ultimate peace	59	56	0.4	NS
Buddhists should avoid drinking alcohol	57	33	19.9	.001
Buddhists should look after their parents in their old age	83	64	15.2	.001
People who have helped us a lot deserve our special respect	84	65	16.8	.001
If a person does good deeds, bad things will come back to them®	12	9	0.8	NS
I would enjoy killing any sort of animal®	3	0	2.4	NS

*Yates correction applied throughout.*Removed because confounded with age difference.*

Appendix G:

Contents:

Full tables of Raw Data for Chapter 14

Table G1: Type distribution for Buddhist teens as compared with UK population norms

N = 320	(NB: + = 1% of N)	Compared with:	UK population norms	Selection Ratio Index

The Sixteen Complete Types:

ISTJ	ISFJ	INFJ	INTJ
n = 42	*n* = 21	*n* = 37	*n* = 32
(13.1 %)	(6.6 %)	(11.6 %)	(10.0 %)
I= 0.96	I= 0.52	I= 6.75	I= 7.10
p = (0.781)	*p* = (0.002)	*p* = (0.000)	*p* = (0.000)
+++++	+++++	+++++	+++++
+++++	++	+++++	+++++
+++		++	

ISTP	ISFP	INFP	INTP
n = 7	*n* = 5	*n* = 15	*n* = 4
(2.2 %)	(1.6 %)	(4.7 %)	(1.3 %)
I= 0.34	I= 0.26	I= 1.47	I= 0.51
p = (0.003)	*p* = (0.001)	*p* = (0.176)	*p* = (0.187)
++	++	+++++	+

ESTP	ESFP	ENFP	ENTP
n = 4	*n* = 7	*n* = 15	*n* = 8
(1.3 %)	(2.2 %)	(4.7 %)	(2.5 %)
I= 0.22	I= 0.25	I= 0.74	I= 0.91
p = (0.001)	*p* = (0.000)	*p* = (0.267)	*p* = (0.798)
+	++	+++++	++

ESTJ	ESFJ	ENFJ	ENTJ
n = 44	*n* = 26	*n* = 28	*n* = 25
(13.8 %)	(8.1 %)	(8.8 %)	(7.8 %)
I= 1.32	I= 0.64	I= 3.18	I= 2.66
p = (0.080)	*p* = (0.023)	*p* = (0.000)	*p* = (0.000)
+++++	+++++	+++++	+++++
+++++	+++	++++	+++
++++			

Dichotomous Preferences	*n* =	%	I	*p* =
E	157	(49.1 %)	0.94	0.295
I	163	(50.9 %)	1.07	0.295
S	156	(48.8 %)	0.64	0.000
N	164	(51.3 %)	2.18	0.000
T	166	(51.9 %)	1.13	0.050
F	154	(48.1 %)	0.89	0.050
J	255	(79.7 %)	1.37	0.000
P	65	(20.3 %)	0.49	0.000

Pairs and Temperaments				
IJ	132	(**41.3** %)	**1.40**	*0.000*
IP	31	(**9.7** %)	**0.53**	*0.000*
EP	34	(**10.6** %)	**0.45**	*0.000*
EJ	123	(**38.4** %)	**1.34**	*0.001*
ST	97	(**30.3** %)	**0.83**	*0.039*
SF	59	(**18.4** %)	**0.46**	*0.000*
NF	95	(**29.7** %)	**2.13**	*0.000*
NT	69	(**21.6** %)	**2.26**	*0.000*
SJ	133	(**41.6** %)	**0.84**	*0.010*
SP	23	(**7.2** %)	**0.27**	*0.000*
NP	42	(**13.1** %)	**0.89**	*0.467*
NJ	122	(**38.1** %)	**4.33**	*0.000*
TJ	143	(**44.7** %)	**1.57**	*0.000*
TP	23	(**7.2** %)	**0.41**	*0.000*
FP	42	(**13.1** %)	**0.54**	*0.000*
FJ	112	(**35.0** %)	**1.17**	*0.065*
IN	88	(**27.5** %)	**3.14**	*0.000*
EN	76	(**23.8** %)	**1.61**	*0.000*
IS	75	(**23.4** %)	**0.60**	*0.000*
ES	81	(**25.3** %)	**0.67**	*0.000*
ET	81	(**25.3** %)	**1.16**	*0.182*
EF	76	(**23.8** %)	**0.78**	*0.018*
IF	78	(**24.4** %)	**1.03**	*0.809*
IT	85	(**26.6** %)	**1.11**	*0.327*

Jungian Types (E)	*n*	%	I=	*p* =
E-TJ	69	(21.6 %)	1.62	0.000
E-FJ	54	(16.9 %)	1.10	0.495
ES-P	11	(3.4 %)	0.24	0.000
EN-P	23	(7.2 %)	0.79	0.279

Jungian Types (I)	*n*	%	I=	*p* =
I-TP	11	(3.4 %)	0.39	0.001
I-FP	20	(6.3 %)	0.67	0.078
IS-J	63	(19.7 %)	0.74	0.011
IN-J	69	(21.6 %)	6.91	0.000

Dominant Types	*n*	%	I=	*p* =
Dt. T	80	(25.0 %)	1.13	0.277
Dt. F	74	(23.1 %)	0.94	0.558
Dt. S	74	(23.1 %)	0.56	0.000
Dt. N	92	(28.8 %)	2.36	0.000

Table G2: Type distribution comparison between male and female Buddhist teens

***N* = 143** (NB: + = 1% of N)

The Sixteen Complete Types:

ISTJ
***n* = 19 (13.3 %)**
I= 1.02
p = (0.939)
+++++ +++++ +++

ISFJ
***n* = 10 (7.0 %)**
I= 1.13
p = (0.780)
+++++ ++

INFJ
***n* = 26 (18.2 %)**
I= 2.93
p = (0.001)
+++++ +++++ +++++ +++

INTJ
***n* = 19 (13.3 %)**
I= 1.81
p = (0.078)
+++++ +++++ +++

ISTP
n = **1 (0.7 %)**
I= 0.21
p = (0.102)
+

ISFP
n = **2 (1.4 %)**
I= 0.83
p = (0.832)
+

INFP
n = **7 (4.9 %)**
I= 1.08
p = (0.875)
+++++

INTP
n = **1 (0.7 %)**
I= 0.41
p = (0.425)

ESTP
n = **3 (2.1 %)**
I= 3.71
p = (0.220)
++

ESFP
n = **4 (2.8 %)**
I= 1.65
p = (0.503)
+++

ENFP
n = **6 (4.2 %)**
I= 0.83
p = (0.708)
++++

ENTP
n = **2 (1.4 %)**
I= 0.41
p = (0.257)
+

ESTJ
n = **14 (9.8 %)**
I= 0.58
p = (0.064)
+++++ +++++

ESFJ
n = **10 (7.0 %)**
I= 0.77
p = (0.505)
+++++ ++

ENFJ
n = **13 (9.1 %)**
I= 1.07
p = (0.846)
+++++ ++++

ENTJ
n = **6 (4.2 %)**
I= 0.39
p = (0.030)
++++

Selection Ratio Index

Dichotomous Preferences

	n =	%	I	*p* =
E	58	(40.6 %)	0.73	0.006
I	85	(59.4 %)	1.35	0.006
S	63	(44.1 %)	0.84	0.131
N	80	(55.9 %)	1.18	0.131
T	65	(45.5 %)	0.80	0.039
F	78	(54.5 %)	1.27	0.039
J	117	(81.8 %)	1.05	0.394
P	26	(18.2 %)	0.83	0.394

Pairs and Temperaments

IJ	74	**(51.7 %)**	**1.58**	*0.001*
IP	11	**(7.7 %)**	**0.68**	*0.278*
EP	15	**(10.5 %)**	**0.98**	*0.944*
EJ	43	**(30.1 %)**	**0.67**	*0.006*
ST	37	**(25.9 %)**	**0.76**	*0.120*
SF	26	**(18.2 %)**	**0.98**	*0.916*
NF	52	**(36.4 %)**	**1.50**	*0.019*
NT	28	**(19.6 %)**	**0.85**	*0.438*
SJ	53	**(37.1 %)**	**0.82**	*0.142*
SP	10	**(7.0 %)**	**0.95**	*0.904*
NP	16	**(11.2 %)**	**0.76**	*0.357*
NJ	64	**(44.8 %)**	**1.37**	*0.028*
TJ	58	**(40.6 %)**	**0.84**	*0.182*
TP	7	**(4.9 %)**	**0.54**	*0.154*
FP	19	**(13.3 %)**	**1.02**	*0.939*
FJ	59	**(41.3 %)**	**1.38**	*0.035*
IN	53	**(37.1 %)**	**1.87**	*0.001*
EN	27	**(18.9 %)**	**0.68**	*0.066*
IS	32	**(22.4 %)**	**0.92**	*0.687*
ES	31	**(21.7 %)**	**0.77**	*0.179*
ET	25	**(17.5 %)**	**0.55**	*0.004*
EF	33	**(23.1 %)**	**0.95**	*0.799*
IF	45	**(31.5 %)**	**1.69**	*0.008*
IT	40	**(28.0 %)**	**1.10**	*0.608*

Jungian Types (E)

	n	%	I=	*p* =
E-TJ	20	(14.0 %)	0.51	0.003
E-FJ	23	(16.1 %)	0.92	0.734
ES-P	7	(4.9 %)	2.17	0.198
EN-P	8	(5.6 %)	0.66	0.321

Jungian Types (I)

	n	%	I=	*p* =
I-TP	2	(1.4 %)	0.28	0.072
I-FP	9	(6.3 %)	1.01	0.977
IS-J	29	(20.3 %)	1.06	0.811
IN-J	45	(31.5 %)	2.32	0.000

Dominant Types

	n	%	I=	*p* =
Dt. T	22	(15.4 %)	0.47	0.000
Dt. F	32	(22.4 %)	0.94	0.776
Dt. S	36	(25.2 %)	1.17	0.434
Dt. N	53	(37.1 %)	1.68	0.003

Table G3: Type distribution comparison between Buddhists in their early & late teens

***N* =** **135** **(NB: + = 1% of N)**

The Sixteen Complete Types:

ISTJ	**ISFJ**	**INFJ**	**INTJ**
***n* =** **21**	***n* =** 8	***n* =** **18**	***n* =** **12**
(15.6 %)	**(5.9 %)**	**(13.3 %)**	**(8.9 %)**
I= **1.37**	**I=** **0.84**	**I=** **1.30**	**I=** **0.82**
p = (0.271)	*p* = (0.694)	*p* = (0.397)	*p* = (0.571)
+ + + + +	+ + + + +	+ + + + +	+ + + + +
+ + + + +	+	+ + + + +	+ + + +
+ + + + +		+ + +	
+			

ISTP	**ISFP**	**INFP**	**INTP**
n = **5**	*n* = **2**	*n* = **9**	*n* = **2**
(3.7 %)	**(1.5 %)**	**(6.7 %)**	**(1.5 %)**
I= **3.43**	**I=** **0.91**	**I=** **2.06**	**I=** **1.37**
p = (0.113)	*p* = (0.920)	*p* = (0.152)	*p* = (0.750)
+ + + +	+ +	+ + + + +	+ +
		+ +	

ESTP	**ESFP**	**ENFP**	**ENTP**
n = **2**	*n* = **5**	*n* = **7**	*n* = **5**
(1.5 %)	**(3.7 %)**	**(5.2 %)**	**(3.7 %)**
I= **1.37**	**I=** **3.43**	**I=** **1.20**	**I=** **2.28**
p = (0.750)	*p* = (0.113)	*p* = (0.719)	*p* = (0.239)
+ +	+ + + +	+ + + + +	+ + +

ESTJ	**ESFJ**	**ENFJ**	**ENTJ**
n = **13**	*n* = **7**	*n* = **10**	*n* = **9**
(9.6 %)	**(5.2 %)**	**(7.4 %)**	**(6.7 %)**
I= **0.57**	**I=** **0.50**	**I=** **0.76**	**I=** **0.77**
p = (0.067)	*p* = (0.100)	*p* = (0.468)	*p* = (0.514)
+ + + + +	+ + + + +	+ + + + +	+ + + + +
+ + + + +		+ +	+ +

Selection Ratio Index

Dichotomous Preferences

	n =	%	I	*p* =
E	58	(43.0 %)	0.80	0.062
I	77	(57.0 %)	1.23	0.062
S	63	(46.7 %)	0.93	0.524
N	72	(53.3 %)	1.07	0.524
T	69	(51.1 %)	0.97	0.815
F	66	(48.9 %)	1.03	0.815
J	98	(72.6 %)	0.86	0.007
P	37	(27.4 %)	1.81	0.007

Pairs and Temperaments

IJ	59	**(43.7 %)**	**1.11**	*0.446*
IP	18	**(13.3 %)**	**1.90**	*0.060*
EP	19	**(14.1 %)**	**1.74**	*0.087*
EJ	39	**(28.9 %)**	**0.64**	*0.003*
ST	41	**(30.4 %)**	**1.00**	*0.985*
SF	22	**(16.3 %)**	**0.81**	*0.399*
NF	44	**(32.6 %)**	**1.18**	*0.331*
NT	28	**(20.7 %)**	**0.94**	*0.760*
SJ	49	**(36.3 %)**	**0.80**	*0.102*
SP	14	**(10.4 %)**	**2.13**	*0.060*
NP	23	**(17.0 %)**	**1.66**	*0.077*
NJ	49	**(36.3 %)**	**0.92**	*0.565*
TJ	55	**(40.7 %)**	**0.86**	*0.225*
TP	14	**(10.4 %)**	**2.13**	*0.060*
FP	23	**(17.0 %)**	**1.66**	*0.077*
FJ	43	**(31.9 %)**	**0.85**	*0.313*
IN	41	**(30.4 %)**	**1.20**	*0.326*
EN	31	**(23.0 %)**	**0.94**	*0.777*
IS	36	**(26.7 %)**	**1.26**	*0.244*
ES	27	**(20.0 %)**	**0.69**	*0.062*
ET	29	**(21.5 %)**	**0.76**	*0.178*
EF	29	**(21.5 %)**	**0.85**	*0.415*
IF	37	**(27.4 %)**	**1.24**	*0.280*
IT	40	**(29.6 %)**	**1.22**	*0.289*

Jungian Types (E)

	n	%	I=	*p* =
E-TJ	22	(16.3 %)	0.64	0.050
E-FJ	17	(12.6 %)	0.63	0.081
ES-P	7	(5.2 %)	2.40	0.143
EN-P	12	(8.9 %)	1.49	0.314

Jungian Types (I)

	n	%	I=	*p* =
I-TP	7	(5.2 %)	2.40	0.143
I-FP	11	(8.1 %)	1.67	0.231
IS-J	29	(21.5 %)	1.17	0.491
IN-J	30	(22.2 %)	1.05	0.806

Dominant Types

	n	%	I=	*p* =
Dt. T	29	(21.5 %)	0.78	0.214
Dt. F	28	(20.7 %)	0.83	0.388
Dt. S	36	(26.7 %)	1.30	0.199
Dt. N	42	(31.1 %)	1.15	0.425

Table G4: Type distribution comparison between Buddhists teens with a breadwinner in a managerial occupation and others

N = 115 (NB: + = 1% of N)

The Sixteen Complete Types:

ISTJ	ISFJ	INFJ	INTJ
n = 16	*n* = 5	*n* = 10	*n* = 11
(13.9 %)	(4.3 %)	(8.7 %)	(9.6 %)
I= 1.39	I= 0.50	I= 0.54	I= 1.02
p = (0.326)	*p* = (0.166)	*p* = (0.078)	*p* = (0.949)
+++++	++++	+++++	+++++
+++++		++++	+++++
++++			

ISTP	ISFP	INFP	INTP
n = 1	*n* = 0	*n* = 6	*n* = 2
(0.9 %)	(0.0 %)	(5.2 %)	(1.7 %)
I= 0.33	I= 0.00	I= 1.30	I= 2.61
p = (0.287)	*p* = (0.078)	*p* = (0.637)	*p* = (0.413)
+		+++++	++

ESTP	ESFP	ENFP	ENTP
n = 0	*n* = 3	*n* = 7	*n* = 2
(0.0 %)	(2.6 %)	(6.1 %)	(1.7 %)
I= 0.00	I= 0.98	I= 1.30	I= 0.52
p = (0.127)	*p* = (0.977)	*p* = (0.608)	*p* = (0.423)
	+++	+++++	++
		+	

ESTJ	ESFJ	ENFJ	ENTJ
n = 20	*n* = 13	*n* = 11	*n* = 8
(17.4 %)	(11.3 %)	(9.6 %)	(7.0 %)
I= 1.86	I= 1.70	I= 1.30	I= 0.70
p = (0.052)	*p* = (0.184)	*p* = (0.514)	*p* = (0.383)
+++++	+++++	+++++	+++++
+++++	+++++	+++++	++
+++++	+		
++			

Selection Ratio Index

Dichotomous Preferences	*n* =	%	I	*p* =
E	64	(55.7 %)	1.21	0.119
I	51	(44.3 %)	0.82	0.119
S	58	(50.4 %)	1.13	0.351
N	57	(49.6 %)	0.90	0.351
T	60	(52.2 %)	1.10	0.435
F	55	(47.8 %)	0.91	0.435
J	94	(81.7 %)	1.06	0.381
P	21	(18.3 %)	0.81	0.381

Pairs and Temperaments				
IJ	42	(36.5 %)	**0.83**	*0.219*
IP	9	(7.8 %)	**0.78**	*0.541*
EP	12	(10.4 %)	**0.82**	*0.575*
EJ	52	(45.2 %)	**1.36**	*0.049*
ST	37	(32.2 %)	**1.34**	*0.140*
SF	21	(18.3 %)	**0.88**	*0.625*
NF	34	(29.6 %)	**0.92**	*0.671*
NT	23	(20.0 %)	**0.86**	*0.515*
SJ	54	(47.0 %)	**1.35**	*0.043*
SP	4	(3.5 %)	**0.35**	*0.041*
NP	17	(14.8 %)	**1.17**	*0.618*
NJ	40	(34.8 %)	**0.82**	*0.193*
TJ	55	(47.8 %)	**1.24**	*0.135*
TP	5	(4.3 %)	**0.50**	*0.166*
FP	16	(13.9 %)	**0.99**	*0.984*
FJ	39	(33.9 %)	**0.88**	*0.426*
IN	29	(25.2 %)	**0.84**	*0.390*
EN	28	(24.3 %)	**0.96**	*0.854*
IS	22	(19.1 %)	**0.80**	*0.342*
ES	36	(31.3 %)	**1.51**	*0.048*
ET	30	(26.1 %)	**1.06**	*0.792*
EF	34	(29.6 %)	**1.39**	*0.125*
IF	21	(18.3 %)	**0.58**	*0.016*
IT	30	(26.1 %)	**1.15**	*0.519*

Jungian Types (E)	*n*	%	I=	*p* =
E-TJ	28	(24.3 %)	1.26	0.325
E-FJ	24	(20.9 %)	1.49	0.140
ES-P	3	(2.6 %)	0.56	0.384
EN-P	9	(7.8 %)	0.98	0.959

Jungian Types (I)	*n*	%	I=	*p* =
I-TP	3	(2.6 %)	0.78	0.733
I-FP	6	(5.2 %)	0.78	0.623
IS-J	21	(18.3 %)	0.98	0.933
IN-J	21	(18.3 %)	0.72	0.170

Dominant Types	*n*	%	I=	*p* =
Dt. T	31	(27.0 %)	1.19	0.421
Dt. F	30	(26.1 %)	1.26	0.299
Dt. S	24	(20.9 %)	0.89	0.633
Dt. N	30	(26.1 %)	0.78	0.203

Table G5: Type distribution comparison between heritage & convert Buddhists teens

***N* =** **201** **(NB: + = 1% of N)**

The Sixteen Complete Types:

ISTJ	**ISFJ**	**INFJ**	**INTJ**
***n* =** **31**	***n* =** 16	***n* =** **14**	***n* =** **14**
(15.4 %)	**(8.0 %)**	**(7.0 %)**	**(7.0 %)**
I= 3.16	**I= 3.26**	**I= 0.27**	**I= 0.41**
p = (0.015)	*p* = (0.084)	*p* = (0.000)	*p* = (0.010)
+ + + + +	+ + + + +	+ + + + +	+ + + + +
+ + + + +	+ + +	+ +	+ +
+ + + + +			

ISTP	**ISFP**	**INFP**	**INTP**
***n* =** **2**	***n* =** **2**	***n* =** **6**	***n* =** **1**
(1.0 %)	**(1.0 %)**	**(3.0 %)**	**(0.5 %)**
I= 0.16	**I= 0.27**	**I= 0.35**	**I= 0.14**
p = (0.012)	*p* = (0.123)	*p* = (0.043)	*p* = (0.041)
+	+	+ + +	

ESTP	**ESFP**	**ENFP**	**ENTP**
***n* =** **4**	***n* =** **6**	***n* =** **5**	***n* =** **5**
(2.0 %)	**(3.0 %)**	**(2.5 %)**	**(2.5 %)**
I= #DIV/0!	**I= 2.45**	**I= 0.34**	**I= 2.04**
p = (0.198)	*p* = (0.386)	*p* = (0.057)	*p* = (0.502)
+ +	+ + +	+ +	+ +

ESTJ	**ESFJ**	**ENFJ**	**ENTJ**
***n* =** **39**	***n* =** **20**	***n* =** **17**	***n* =** **19**
(19.4 %)	**(10.0 %)**	**(8.5 %)**	**(9.5 %)**
I= 15.91	**I= 2.72**	**I= 0.87**	**I= 2.58**
p = (0.000)	*p* = (0.079)	*p* = (0.727)	*p* = (0.099)
+ + + + +	+ + + + +	+ + + + +	+ + + + +
+ + + + +	+ + + + +	+ + +	+ + + + +
+ + + + +			
+ + + +			

Selection Ratio Index

Dichotomous Preferences

	n =	%	I	*p* =
E	115	(57.2 %)	2.04	0.000
I	86	(42.8 %)	0.59	0.000
S	120	(59.7 %)	2.58	0.000
N	81	(40.3 %)	0.52	0.000
T	115	(57.2 %)	1.51	0.003
F	86	(42.8 %)	0.69	0.003
J	170	(84.6 %)	1.24	0.002
P	31	(15.4 %)	0.49	0.002

Pairs and Temperaments

IJ	75	**(37.3 %)**	**0.75**	*0.049*
IP	11	**(5.5 %)**	**0.25**	*0.000*
EP	20	**(10.0 %)**	**1.02**	*0.960*
EJ	95	**(47.3 %)**	**2.58**	*0.000*
ST	76	**(37.8 %)**	**3.10**	*0.000*
SF	44	**(21.9 %)**	**1.99**	*0.033*
NF	42	**(20.9 %)**	**0.41**	*0.000*
NT	39	**(19.4 %)**	**0.76**	*0.247*
SJ	106	**(52.7 %)**	**4.32**	*0.000*
SP	14	**(7.0 %)**	**0.63**	*0.263*
NP	17	**(8.5 %)**	**0.41**	*0.004*
NJ	64	**(31.8 %)**	**0.57**	*0.000*
TJ	103	**(51.2 %)**	**1.91**	*0.000*
TP	12	**(6.0 %)**	**0.54**	*0.145*
FP	19	**(9.5 %)**	**0.46**	*0.010*
FJ	67	**(33.3 %)**	**0.80**	*0.195*
IN	35	**(17.4 %)**	**0.32**	*0.000*
EN	46	**(22.9 %)**	**1.04**	*0.865*
IS	51	**(25.4 %)**	**1.49**	*0.132*
ES	69	**(34.3 %)**	**5.63**	*0.000*
ET	67	**(33.3 %)**	**5.47**	*0.000*
EF	48	**(23.9 %)**	**1.09**	*0.728*
IF	38	**(18.9 %)**	**0.47**	*0.000*
IT	48	**(23.9 %)**	**0.75**	*0.174*

Jungian Types (E)

	n	%	I=	*p* =
E-TJ	58	(28.9 %)	5.92	0.000
E-FJ	37	(18.4 %)	1.37	0.310
ES-P	10	(5.0 %)	4.08	0.138
EN-P	10	(5.0 %)	0.58	0.253

Jungian Types (I)

	n	%	I=	*p* =
I-TP	3	(1.5 %)	0.15	0.001
I-FP	8	(4.0 %)	0.33	0.010
IS-J	47	(23.4 %)	3.20	0.002
IN-J	28	(13.9 %)	0.33	0.000

Dominant Types

	n	%	I=	*p* =
Dt. T	61	(30.3 %)	2.07	0.006
Dt. F	45	(22.4 %)	0.87	0.561
Dt. S	57	(28.4 %)	3.32	0.000
Dt. N	38	(18.9 %)	0.37	0.000

Table G6: Type distribution comparison between convert Buddhists & a religiously undifferentiated UK population

***N* = 82** (NB: + = 1% of N)

The Sixteen Complete Types:

ISTJ
***n* = 4 (4.9 %)**
I= 0.36
p = (0.022)

+++++

ISFJ
***n* = 2 (2.4 %)**
I= 0.19
p = (0.006)

++

INFJ
***n* = 21 (25.6 %)**
I= 14.95
p = (0.000)

+++++
+++++
+++++
+++++
+++++
+

INTJ
***n* = 14 (17.1 %)**
I= 12.13
p = (0.000)

+++++
+++++
+++++
++

ISTP
n = **5 (6.1 %)**
I= 0.95
p = (0.906)

+++++
+

ISFP
n = **3 (3.7 %)**
I= 0.60
p = (0.360)

++++

INFP
n = **7 (8.5 %)**
I= 2.68
p = (0.009)

+++++
+++

INTP
n = **3 (3.7 %)**
I= 1.49
p = (0.494)

++++

ESTP
n = **0 (0.0 %)**
I= 0.00
p = (0.025)

ESFP
n = **1 (1.2 %)**
I= 0.14
p = (0.017)

+

ENFP
n = **6 (7.3 %)**
I= 1.16
p = (0.713)

+++++
++

ENTP
n = **1 (1.2 %)**
I= 0.44
p = (0.401)

+

ESTJ
n = **1 (1.2 %)**
I= 0.12
p = (0.007)

+

ESFJ
n = **3 (3.7 %)**
I= 0.29
p = (0.016)

++++

ENFJ
n = **8 (9.8 %)**
I= 3.54
p = (0.000)

+++++
+++++

ENTJ
n = **3 (3.7 %)**
I= 1.25
p = (0.708)

++++

Selection Ratio Index

Dichotomous Preferences

	n =	%	I	*p* =
E	23	(28.0 %)	0.54	0.000
I	59	(72.0 %)	1.51	0.000
S	19	(23.2 %)	0.30	0.000
N	63	(76.8 %)	3.27	0.000
T	31	(37.8 %)	0.82	0.151
F	51	(62.2 %)	1.15	0.151
J	56	(68.3 %)	1.17	0.072
P	26	(31.7 %)	0.76	0.072

Pairs and Temperaments

IJ	41	(**50.0** %)	**1.69**	*0.000*
IP	18	(**22.0** %)	**1.21**	*0.389*
EP	8	(**9.8** %)	**0.41**	*0.004*
EJ	15	(**18.3** %)	**0.64**	*0.041*
ST	10	(**12.2** %)	**0.34**	*0.000*
SF	9	(**11.0** %)	**0.27**	*0.000*
NF	42	(**51.2** %)	**3.67**	*0.000*
NT	21	(**25.6** %)	**2.68**	*0.000*
SJ	10	(**12.2** %)	**0.25**	*0.000*
SP	9	(**11.0** %)	**0.41**	*0.001*
NP	17	(**20.7** %)	**1.41**	*0.134*
NJ	46	(**56.1** %)	**6.37**	*0.000*
TJ	22	(**26.8** %)	**0.94**	*0.750*
TP	9	(**11.0** %)	**0.63**	*0.129*
FP	17	(**20.7** %)	**0.85**	*0.462*
FJ	34	(**41.5** %)	**1.39**	*0.025*
IN	45	(**54.9** %)	**6.27**	*0.000*
EN	18	(**22.0** %)	**1.49**	*0.075*
IS	14	(**17.1** %)	**0.44**	*0.000*
ES	5	(**6.1** %)	**0.16**	*0.000*
ET	5	(**6.1** %)	**0.28**	*0.001*
EF	18	(**22.0** %)	**0.72**	*0.105*
IF	33	(**40.2** %)	**1.69**	*0.001*
IT	26	(**31.7** %)	**1.32**	*0.112*

Jungian Types (E)

	n	%	I=	*p* =
E-TJ	4	(4.9 %)	0.37	0.026
E-FJ	11	(13.4 %)	0.87	0.633
ES-P	1	(1.2 %)	0.08	0.001
EN-P	7	(8.5 %)	0.94	0.872

Jungian Types (I)

	n	%	I=	*p* =
I-TP	8	(9.8 %)	1.10	0.784
I-FP	10	(12.2 %)	1.31	0.382
IS-J	6	(7.3 %)	0.28	0.000
IN-J	35	(42.7 %)	13.68	0.000

Dominant Types

	n	%	I=	*p* =
Dt. T	12	(14.6 %)	0.66	0.105
Dt. F	21	(25.6 %)	1.04	0.846
Dt. S	7	(8.5 %)	0.21	0.000
Dt. N	42	(51.2 %)	4.21	0.000

Table G7: Type distribution comparison between heritage Buddhists & a religiously undifferentiated UK population

***N* = 201** (NB: + = 1% of N)

The Sixteen Complete Types:

ISTJ	**ISFJ**	**INFJ**	**INTJ**
***n* = 31 (15.4 %)**	***n* = 16 (8.0 %)**	***n* = 14 (7.0 %)**	***n* = 14 (7.0 %)**
I= 1.13	**I= 0.63**	**I= 4.06**	**I= 4.95**
p = (0.507)	*p* = (0.051)	*p* = (0.000)	*p* = (0.000)
+++++ +++++ +++++	+++++ +++	+++++ ++	+++++ ++
ISTP	**ISFP**	**INFP**	**INTP**
n = **2 (1.0 %)**	*n* = **2 (1.0 %)**	*n* = **6 (3.0 %)**	*n* = **1 (0.5 %)**
I= 0.15	**I= 0.16**	**I= 0.94**	**I= 0.20**
p = (0.002)	*p* = (0.003)	*p* = (0.880)	*p* = (0.077)
+	+	+++	
ESTP	**ESFP**	**ENFP**	**ENTP**
n = **4 (2.0 %)**	*n* = **6 (3.0 %)**	*n* = **5 (2.5 %)**	*n* = **5 (2.5 %)**
I= 0.34	**I= 0.34**	**I= 0.39**	**I= 0.90**
p = (0.024)	*p* = (0.005)	*p* = (0.030)	*p* = (0.827)
++	+++	++	++
ESTJ	**ESFJ**	**ENFJ**	**ENTJ**
n = **39 (19.4 %)**	*n* = **20 (10.0 %)**	*n* = **17 (8.5 %)**	*n* = **19 (9.5 %)**
I= 1.86	**I= 0.79**	**I= 3.07**	**I= 3.22**
p = (0.000)	*p* = (0.279)	*p* = (0.000)	*p* = (0.000)
+++++ +++++ +++++ ++++	+++++ +++++	+++++ +++	+++++ +++++

Selection Ratio Index

Dichotomous Preferences	*n* =	%	I	*p* =
E	115	(57.2 %)	1.09	0.185
I	86	(42.8 %)	0.90	0.185
S	120	(59.7 %)	0.78	0.000
N	81	(40.3 %)	1.71	0.000
T	115	(57.2 %)	1.25	0.002
F	86	(42.8 %)	0.79	0.002
J	170	(84.6 %)	1.45	0.000
P	31	(15.4 %)	0.37	0.000
Pairs and Temperaments				
IJ	75	(**37.3** %)	**1.26**	*0.024*
IP	11	(**5.5** %)	**0.30**	*0.000*
EP	20	(**10.0** %)	**0.42**	*0.000*
EJ	95	(**47.3** %)	**1.65**	*0.000*
ST	76	(**37.8** %)	**1.04**	*0.685*
SF	44	(**21.9** %)	**0.55**	*0.000*
NF	42	(**20.9** %)	**1.50**	*0.009*
NT	39	(**19.4** %)	**2.03**	*0.000*
SJ	106	(**52.7** %)	**1.07**	*0.379*
SP	14	(**7.0** %)	**0.26**	*0.000*
NP	17	(**8.5** %)	**0.58**	*0.016*
NJ	64	(**31.8** %)	**3.61**	*0.000*
TJ	103	(**51.2** %)	**1.80**	*0.000*
TP	12	(**6.0** %)	**0.34**	*0.000*
FP	19	(**9.5** %)	**0.39**	*0.000*
FJ	67	(**33.3** %)	**1.12**	*0.304*
IN	35	(**17.4** %)	**1.99**	*0.000*
EN	46	(**22.9** %)	**1.55**	*0.003*
IS	51	(**25.4** %)	**0.65**	*0.000*
ES	69	(**34.3** %)	**0.92**	*0.378*
ET	67	(**33.3** %)	**1.52**	*0.000*
EF	48	(**23.9** %)	**0.79**	*0.058*
IF	38	(**18.9** %)	**0.80**	*0.125*
IT	48	(**23.9** %)	**1.00**	*0.973*

Jungian Types (E)	*n*	%	I=	*p* =
E-TJ	58	(28.9 %)	2.16	0.000
E-FJ	37	(18.4 %)	1.20	0.262
ES-P	10	(5.0 %)	0.34	0.000
EN-P	10	(5.0 %)	0.55	0.052

Jungian Types (I)	*n*	%	I=	*p* =
I-TP	3	(1.5 %)	0.17	0.000
I-FP	8	(4.0 %)	0.43	0.012
IS-J	47	(23.4 %)	0.88	0.352
IN-J	28	(13.9 %)	4.46	0.000

Dominant Types	*n*	%	I=	*p* =
Dt. T	61	(30.3 %)	1.37	0.010
Dt. F	45	(22.4 %)	0.91	0.479
Dt. S	57	(28.4 %)	0.69	0.001
Dt. N	38	(18.9 %)	1.55	0.007

Appendix H:

Contents:

Documentation incidental to the research project:

THE UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK
Institute of
EDUCATION

Application for Ethical Approval for Research Degrees
(MA by research, MPHIL/PhD, EdD)

Name of student	MA By research	EdD	PhD
Phra Nicholas Thanissaro			✓

Project title Temple-Going Teens: Quantitative Survey Stage

Supervisor The Revd. Canon Prof. Leslie J. Francis

Funding Body (if relevant) University of Warwick Chancellor's Scholarship

Please ensure you have read the Guidance for the Ethical Conduct of Research available in the handbook.

Methodology
Please outline the methodology e.g. observation, individual interviews, focus groups, group testing etc.

The student will personally distribute (or have temple incumbents distribute) quantitative surveys for completion on site at temples/Buddhist centres or Buddhist events in England, Scotland and Wales.

Participants
Please specify all participants in the research including ages of children and young people where appropriate. Also specify if any participants are vulnerable e.g. children; as a result of learning disability.

There will be up to 1,000 teenagers taking part in this project in the age range 13-20 – the student does not expect this to include special needs children.

Respect for participants' rights and dignity
How will the fundamental rights and dignity of participants be respected, e.g. confidentiality, respect of cultural and religious values?

Informed consent will be ensured by obtaining written consent in advance from the participants and from their parent/guardian if they are under 16 years of age.

Privacy and confidentiality

How will confidentiality be assured? Please address all aspects of research including protection of data records, thesis, reports/papers that might arise from the study.

Anonymity of the participants will be maintained throughout with surveys submitted anonymously. Links between true identity and initials & the database of participants will be kept under lock and key and not released for third-party purposes.

Consent

- will prior informed consent be obtained? Yes
- from participants? Yes/~~No~~ from others? Yes/~~No~~
- explain how this will be obtained. If prior informed consent is not to be obtained, give reason: informed consent will be obtained from the participants (and their parent/guardian too if they are under 16). Obtaining consent is built in to their completion of the 'Young People's Values: Survey Participation Card' at the recruitment stage of the study.
- will participants be explicitly informed of the student's status? They will be introduced to the student and the purpose of the study at the recruitment stage or before completing the survey.

Competence

How will you ensure that all methods used are undertaken with the necessary competence?

The student will remain in consultation with his supervisor and/or the incumbent of the relevant temple, informing them of any project-related problems, failures, adverse incidents or suspected misconduct.

Protection of participants

How will participants' safety and well-being be safeguarded?

The surveys will be fielded at a location which is already familiar to them (or their parents) and in a group setting where they would not feel intimidated by being alone with the researcher.

Child protection

Will a CRB check be needed? Yes/~~No~~ (If yes, please attach a copy.)

Addressing dilemmas

Even well planned research can produce ethical dilemmas. How will you address any ethical dilemmas that may arise in your research?

The student will remain in consultation with his supervisor and/or the incumbent of the relevant temple, informing them of any project-related problems, failures, adverse incidents or suspected misconduct.

Misuse of research

How will you seek to ensure that the research and the evidence resulting from it are not misused?

By the process of member-checking, the student will give participants the opportunity to comment on the accuracy, truthfulness and completeness of findings and discussion in the write-up before publication. Only the student and his supervisor will have access to the original data so it will not be open to misuse by others. Up to a certain point the participants can withdraw their consent but once data has been anonymized that will not be possible.

Support for research participants

What action is proposed if sensitive issues are raised or a participant becomes upset?

The research deals with general values issues – nothing of a 'sensitive' nature is expected to arise. Nonetheless, participants will have the right to withdraw and will be informed of this right in the initial orientation. If it is obvious that it is the action of the researcher which is causing a participant to become upset, the researcher will desist immediately from this action.

Integrity

How will you ensure that your research and its reporting are honest, fair and respectful to others?

The student will ensure the research is respectful by informing participants of the purpose of the study and by adhering to the guidance requirements on consent, anonymity and confidentiality. The student will ensure the reporting is fair and honest by the process of member-checking; participants will be given the opportunity to comment on the findings and discussion in the write-up before publication. The student will remunerate the participants by entering those completing surveys in a lucky draw by which they have the chance to win an iPad prize.

What agreement has been made for the attribution of authorship by yourself and your supervisor(s) of any reports or publications?

Wherever the supervisor indicates it appropriate, joint attribution of authorship by student and supervisor will be gladly made in any derivative reports or publications.

Other issues?

Please specify other issues not discussed above, if any, and how you will address them.

n/a

Signed

Research student — Date

P. N. Thomas — 29 November 2012

Supervisor — Date

Lesley Turner — 13 December 2012

Action

Please submit to the Research Office (Louisa Hopkins, room WE132)

Action taken

- ☒ Approved
- ☐ Approved with modification or conditions – see below
- ☐ Action deferred. Please supply additional information or clarification – see below

Name G LINOTT — Date 26/3/13

Signature

Stamped

Notes of Action

THE UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

YOUNG PEOPLE'S VALUES

This survey looks at what young people aged between 13 and 20 most value and think is most important. It has been designed to let the voice of young people be clearly heard. Please help by answering the questions.

Please say what you really think and try to be as honest and accurate as possible. There are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers to these questions. We are very interested in your views. Please do not discuss your answers with anyone else, and do not pause for too long over any one question.

Everything you tell us is completely private and confidential. No one but the researcher will read your answers.

Thanks for all your help,

P. N. Thanissaro

Ven. Phra Nicholas Thanissaro BSc MA PGCE
University of Warwick

PART ONE asks for some information about yourself. Please tick (✓) the appropriate boxes.

Which sex are you?	Male	1	
	Female	2	
What kind of area do you live in?	Rural	1	
	Suburban	2	
	Urban	3	
Are you still at school?	No	1	
	Yes, part-time	2	
	Yes, full-time	3	
Do you have a job?	No	1	
	Yes, part-time	2	
	Yes, full-time	3	
	Yes, homemaker	4	
Do you have a mobile phone?	Yes	2	
	No	1	
How much time did you spend on the internet last Thursday?	None	1	
	Less than 1 hour	2	
	1 or 2 hours	3	
	3 or 4 hours	4	
	More than 4 hours	5	

How much time did you spend watching TV/videos/DVDs last Thursday?	None	1	
	Less than 1 hour	2	
	1 or 2 hours	3	
	3 or 4 hours	4	
	More than 4 hours	5	
How much time did you spend playing computer games last Thursday?	None	1	
	Less than 1 hour	2	
	1 or 2 hours	3	
	3 or 4 hours	4	
	More than 4 hours	5	
What is your ethnic group?	Asian - Bangladeshi	1	
	Asian - Indian	2	
	Asian - Pakistani	3	
	Any other Asian	4	
	Black - African	5	
	Black - Caribbean	6	
	Chinese	7	
	Mixed	8	
	White	9	
Who do you live with?	Both natural parents	1	
	One natural parent	2	
	One natural parent and her/his partner	3	
	Grandparents	4	
	Adoptive parents	5	
	Foster parents	6	
	Have left home	7	

Do you have any sisters or brothers that live with you?	Yes	2	
	No	1	
Have your parents been separated or divorced?	Yes	2	
	No	1	
	Don't know	9	
Does your dad have a job?	Yes, full-time	5	
	Yes, part-time	4	
	Yes, homemaker	3	
	Retired	2	
	No	1	
	Don't know	9	
If so, what does he do? (please specify)			
Does your mum have a job?	Yes, full-time	5	
	Yes, part-time	4	
	Yes, homemaker	3	
	Retired	2	
	No	1	
	Don't know	9	
If so, what does she do? (please specify)			

Do you read the scriptures by yourself? (e.g. Bible, Qur'an, Vedas, Adi Granth)

Nearly every day	5	
At least once a week	4	
At least once a month	3	
Occasionally	2	
Never	1	

What is your religion?

none	1	
Buddhist	2	
Christian	3	
Hindu	4	
Jewish	5	
Muslim	6	
Sikh	7	
other (please specify)	8	

How often do you attend a place of religious worship? (e.g. church, mosque, temple etc)

Nearly every day	5	
At least once a week	4	
At least once a month	3	
Occasionally	2	
Never	1	

If you ticked Buddhist, with which group do you identify?

Not applicable	9	
none	1	
Theravada	2	
Mahayana	3	
Vajrayana	4	
other (please specify)	5	

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If you ticked Buddhist, with which ONE of the following types of Buddhism do you most identify?

Not applicable	99	
none	01	
Bangladeshi	02	
Bhutanese	03	
Burmese	04	
Cambodian	05	
Chinese	06	
Japanese	07	
Korean	08	
Laotian	09	
Mongolian	10	
Nepalese	11	
Sri Lankan	12	
Taiwanese	13	
Thai	14	
Triratna Buddhist Community	15	
Tibetan	16	
Vietnamese	17	
other (please specify)	18	

How often do you meditate, chant or pray?

Nearly every day	5	
At least once a week	4	
At least once a month	3	
Occasionally	2	
Never	1	

Please give your date, month and year of birth

Date e.g. 19	
Month e.g. February	
Year e.g. 1975	

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Have you ever had something you would describe as a spiritual or religious experience?

No	1	
Perhaps, but I am not really sure	2	
Probably, but I am not certain	3	
Yes, definitely	4	

Please describe this experience if you can.

Do you bow to your parents in respect?

nearly every day	5	
At least once a week	4	
At least once a month	3	
On special occasions (e.g. your birthday)	2	
Never	1	

Do you have a shrine in your home

Yes	2	
No	1	

Are both your parents still alive?

Yes	2	
No	1	
Don't know	9	

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PART TWO: Please read each sentence carefully and see if you agree or disagree with it. You have to draw one ring on each line.

If you Agree Strongly, put a ring around ..... **AS**A NC D DS
If you Agree, put a ring around ..... AS**A** NC D DS
If you are Not Certain, put a ring around ..... ASA **NC** D DS
If you Disagree, put a ring around ..... ASA NC **D** DS
If you Disagree Strongly, put a ring around ..... ASA NC D **DS**

In the UK there is a lot of discrimination against Asian people .... AS A NC D DS
I learn new things about my own religion in Religious Education .. AS A NC D DS
I believe God is vital to my salvation ..... AS A NC D DS
The police do a good job ..... AS A NC D DS
There is nothing I can do to help solve the world's problems ..... AS A NC D DS
I would never sign a petition ..... AS A NC D DS
Doing meditation is sufficient as Buddhist practice ..... AS A NC D DS
Eightfold Path seems a good way to achieve happiness ..... AS A NC D DS
I mostly socialize with friends the same sex as me ..... AS A NC D DS
Religious Education is essential for a balanced school curriculum ..... AS A NC D DS
I like how Buddhists offer flowers and incense to the Buddha ..... AS A NC D DS
I believe in ghosts ..... AS A NC D DS
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my dad ..... AS A NC D DS
I would do what pleases my family, even if I detest that activity ... AS A NC D DS
I think it is important to learn at least one Asian language ..... AS A NC D DS
There is nothing wrong in writing graffiti (tagging) wherever you like ..... AS A NC D DS
I like how Buddhists encourage people to become friends on Sangha Day ..... AS A NC D DS

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Buddhism has been replaced by Science ..... AS A NC D DS
People who have helped us a lot deserve our special respect .. AS A NC D DS
I believe in angels ..... AS A NC D DS
It is important for a child to learn obedience and religious faith .... AS A NC D DS
Spending time as a Buddhist monk is beneficial to the world at large ..... AS A NC D DS
It is necessary for us to share what we have with others ..... AS A NC D DS
I believe that I can be a Buddhist without going to a Buddhist temple ..... AS A NC D DS
I am happy in my school ..... AS A NC D DS
Sometimes I buy things because I've seen them on TV ..... AS A NC D DS
Teachers do a good job ..... AS A NC D DS
I am worried about how I get on with other people ..... AS A NC D DS
I like the Buddhist idea that understanding is more important than belief ... AS A NC D DS
It annoys me when other people perform better than I do ..... AS A NC D DS
My family disapproves of what I do with my spare time ..... AS A NC D DS
I believe God exists ..... AS A NC D DS
It is wrong to sniff butane gas ..... AS A NC D DS
I am a unique individual ..... AS A NC D DS
I find it inspiring to hear Buddhist stories ..... AS A NC D DS
It is necessary for us to give support to the poor and the needy ..... AS A NC D DS
My friends are important to me ..... AS A NC D DS
I respect those who are in authority ..... AS A NC D DS
I admire Buddhists for respecting all living things ..... AS A NC D DS
I cannot imagine life without TV ..... AS A NC D DS
I think Buddhism is the only true religion ..... AS A NC D DS
I believe that God made the world in six days and rested on the seventh ... AS A NC D DS

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My family are supportive of me ..... AS A NC D DS
I am worried about my attractiveness to the opposite sex ..... AS A NC D DS
I think it is important to work hard when I get a job ..... AS A NC D DS
My family are important to me ..... AS A NC D DS
I have sometimes considered taking my own life ..... AS A NC D DS
The music I listen to is important to me ..... AS A NC D DS
It is wrong to sniff glue ..... AS A NC D DS
Buddhists should look after their parents in their old age ..... AS A NC D DS
There are too many foreign people in the UK ..... AS A NC D DS
I am worried about being attacked by pupils from other schools .... AS A NC D DS
Buddhist temples are boring ..... AS A NC D DS
Religious Education should be taught in school ..... AS A NC D DS
Buddhist monks do a good job ..... AS A NC D DS
I am influenced by my family ..... AS A NC D DS
I feel my life has a sense of purpose ..... AS A NC D DS
Sangha Day is important to me ..... AS A NC D DS
There is too much violence on television ..... AS A NC D DS
I am influenced by my friends ..... AS A NC D DS
Buddhist teachings seem irrelevant to life today ..... AS A NC D DS
The music I listen to influences my mood ..... AS A NC D DS
I am a spiritual person ..... AS A NC D DS
Buddhists should have respect for those worthy of respect ..... AS A NC D DS
There is nothing wrong in shoplifting ..... AS A NC D DS
I respect Buddhists for giving food and money to their monks ..... AS A NC D DS

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I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my friends ..... AS A NC D DS
I would rather be unemployed than get a job I don't like doing ..... AS A NC D DS
I think Christianity is the only true religion ..... AS A NC D DS
I would enjoy killing any sort of animal ..... AS A NC D DS
I want my children to grow up to be Buddhist ..... AS A NC D DS
Religious Education helps me respect other peoples' beliefs ..... AS A NC D DS
Most of my friends are Buddhist ..... AS A NC D DS
I feel I am not worth much as a person ..... AS A NC D DS
I would want to go and live in Asia some day ..... AS A NC D DS
I cannot imagine life without internet access ..... AS A NC D DS
It is wrong to smoke cigarettes ..... AS A NC D DS
Buddhists should not to kill any sort of animal ..... AS A NC D DS
School is boring ..... AS A NC D DS
I am often embarrassed by my family ..... AS A NC D DS
I am frightened of going into a temple alone ..... AS A NC D DS
I like the people I go to school with ..... AS A NC D DS
We should keep our aging parents with us at home ..... AS A NC D DS
A child should learn to be independent and self-determined ..... AS A NC D DS
I feel the need for a Buddhist spiritual teacher ..... AS A NC D DS
I am worried about my sex life ..... AS A NC D DS
I believe fortune-tellers can tell the future ..... AS A NC D DS
I would not describe myself as happy ..... AS A NC D DS
My school is helping me prepare for life ..... AS A NC D DS
I believe in the Devil (Mara) ..... AS A NC D DS

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Buddhism depends on blind faith ..... AS A NC D DS
Pornography is too readily available ..... AS A NC D DS
It is important for Buddhists to spend time meditating ..... AS A NC D DS
I find life really worth living ..... AS A NC D DS
I am worried about being bullied at school ..... AS A NC D DS
A job gives you a sense of purpose ..... AS A NC D DS
I cannot imagine life without my music ..... AS A NC D DS
Homosexuality is never justifiable ..... AS A NC D DS
I am concerned about the risk of nuclear war ..... AS A NC D DS
Adults do not listen to young people ..... AS A NC D DS
Buddhists should avoid drinking alcohol ..... AS A NC D DS
RE helps me understand different religions ..... AS A NC D DS
You have to be very careful about trusting people ..... AS A NC D DS
I like the Buddhist idea of having a calm mind ..... AS A NC D DS
There is nothing wrong in buying cigarettes under the legal age (16 years) ..... AS A NC D DS
Enjoying life or hating it depends on how we see the world .... AS A NC D DS
There is nothing wrong in travelling on public transport without a ticket ..... AS A NC D DS
I am worried about my exams at school ..... AS A NC D DS
If a person does good deeds, bad things will come back to them .. AS A NC D DS
I get on well with my family ..... AS A NC D DS
Nirvana is the ultimate peace ..... AS A NC D DS
I believe in my horoscope ..... AS A NC D DS
I would seriously consider becoming a monk or nun ..... AS A NC D DS
I often worry about my school work ..... AS A NC D DS

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The media make young people look bad ..... AS A NC D DS
I am concerned about the risk of pollution to the environment ..... AS A NC D DS
I consider myself a proper Buddhist ..... AS A NC D DS
I would not sacrifice friendship with others to get ahead in life ..... AS A NC D DS
I am worried about getting AIDS/HIV ..... AS A NC D DS
Spending time meditating is a constructive use of one's time ..... AS A NC D DS
Abortion is never justifiable ..... AS A NC D DS
It is wrong to use heroin ..... AS A NC D DS
God is very important in my life ..... AS A NC D DS
There is nothing wrong in playing truant (wagging) from school .... AS A NC D DS
Sometimes I feel pressured by friends to do things I don't want to do ..... AS A NC D DS
I like how Buddhists train their minds through prayer and meditation ..... AS A NC D DS
It is wrong to get drunk ..... AS A NC D DS
I believe it is possible to contact the spirits of the dead ..... AS A NC D DS
I like to practise things from several different Buddhist traditions .. AS A NC D DS
I believe in God ..... AS A NC D DS
The wellbeing of my fellow students/workers is important to me .. AS A NC D DS
I am frightened of going into a church alone ..... AS A NC D DS
Collective Worship (assemblies with a theme) should be held in school ..... AS A NC D DS
I like how some Buddhists spend time in meditation as monks or nuns ..... AS A NC D DS
In the UK there is a lot of discrimination against White people .... AS A NC D DS
I cannot imagine life without video games ..... AS A NC D DS
People should be encouraged to be friends ..... AS A NC D DS
The temple community seems irrelevant to life today ..... AS A NC D DS

There is nothing wrong in buying alcoholic drinks under the legal age (18 years) ..... AS A NC D DS
It is wrong to use marijuana (hash or pot) ..... AS A NC D DS
I am a religious person ..... AS A NC D DS
I often feel depressed ..... AS A NC D DS
I believe in black magic ..... AS A NC D DS
I am concerned about the poverty of the Third World ..... AS A NC D DS
I want to get to the top in my work when I get a job ..... AS A NC D DS
I believe in life after death ..... AS A NC D DS
I am worried about going out alone at night in my area ..... AS A NC D DS
I like the Buddhist idea of encouraging people to be friends ..... AS A NC D DS
I would choose to marry someone else who was Buddhist ..... AS A NC D DS
Most unemployed people could have a job if they really wanted to ..... AS A NC D DS
My family disapproves of my friends ..... AS A NC D DS
There is nothing wrong in cycling after dark without lights ..... AS A NC D DS
I find it helpful to talk about my problems with my mum ..... AS A NC D DS
I believe that Jesus really rose from the dead ..... AS A NC D DS
I like to live close to my close friends ..... AS A NC D DS
I am influenced by celebrities ..... AS A NC D DS
I would not like to be unemployed ..... AS A NC D DS
Religious Education at school helps me understand my religion ... AS A NC D DS
Adults do not respect young people ..... AS A NC D DS
I have a strong sense of national pride ..... AS A NC D DS
It is important to be vegetarian ..... AS A NC D DS

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PART THREE: These statements are to do with special experiences. Please indicate how important each experience is to **your** life by circling a number between 1 and 5.

1 = low importance 3 = medium importance 5 = high importance

experiencing something I could not put into words ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
feeling moved by a power beyond description ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
being aware of more than I could ever describe .... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
sensing meaning in the beauty of nature ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
knowing I was surrounded by a presence ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
hearing an inner voice speak to me ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
seeing brief glimpses into the heart of things ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
having transient visions of the transcendental ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
experiencing passing moments of deep insight ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
being overwhelmed by a sense of wonder ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
being in a state of mystery outside my body ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
being grasped by a power beyond my control ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
feeling at one with the universe ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
being absorbed within a greater being ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
sensing the merging of past, present and future ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
feeling at one with all living beings ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
losing my everyday self in a greater being ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
being conscious only of timelessness and eternity ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
feeling my everyday self absorbed in the depths of being *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
losing a sense of time, place and person ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*
sensing the unity in all things ..... *low* 1 2 3 4 5 *high*

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PART FOUR: requires you to answer these questions by putting a circle around the YES or NO for each question.

I often wish I were someone else ..... YES NO
I find it very hard to talk in front of the class ..... YES NO
There are lots of things about myself I'd change if I could ..... YES NO
I can make up my mind without too much trouble ..... YES NO
I get upset easily at home ..... YES NO
I'm a lot of fun to be with ..... YES NO
It takes me along time to get used to anything new ..... YES NO
I'm popular with kids my own age ..... YES NO
My parents usually consider my feelings ..... YES NO
I give in very easily ..... YES NO
My parents expect too much of me ..... YES NO
It's pretty tough to be me ..... YES NO
Things are all mixed up in my life ..... YES NO
Kids usually follow my ideas ..... YES NO
I have a low opinion of myself ..... YES NO
There are many times when I'd like to leave home ..... YES NO
I often feel upset in school ..... YES NO
I'm not as nice looking as most people ..... YES NO
If I have something to say, I usually say it ..... YES NO
My parents understand me ..... YES NO
Most people are better liked than I am ..... YES NO
I usually feel as if my parents are pushing me ..... YES NO
I often get discouraged in school ..... YES NO
Things usually don't bother me ..... YES NO
I can't be depended on ..... YES NO

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PART FIVE: The following list contains pairs of characteristics. For each pair tick (✓) **ONE** box **next to that characteristic which is closer to the** real you, even if you feel both characteristics apply to you. Tick the characteristic that reflects the real you, even if people see you differently.

PLEASE COMPLETE EVERY QUESTION

Do you tend to be more...
active ❑ or ❑ reflective

Do you tend to be more interested in...
facts ❑ or ❑ theories

Do you tend to be more concerned for...
harmony ❑ or ❑ justice

Do you tend to be more...
happy with routine ❑ or ❑ unhappy with routine

Do you tend to be...
emotional ❑ or ❑ unemotional

Are you more...
private ❑ or ❑ sociable

Are you more...
inspirational ❑ or ❑ practical

Are you more...
analytic ❑ or ❑ sympathetic

Are you more...
structured ❑ or ❑ open-ended

Are you mostly...
contented ❑ or ❑ discontented

Do you prefer...
having many friends ❑ or ❑ a few deep friendships

Do you prefer...
the concrete ❑ or ❑ the abstract

Do you prefer...
feeling ❑ or ❑ thinking

Do you prefer...
to act on impulse ❑ or ❑ to act on decisions

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Are you more...
tactful ❑ or ❑ truthful

Are you more...
spontaneous ❑ or ❑ organised

Are you generally...
at ease ❑ or ❑ anxious about things

Are you mostly...
an introvert ❑ or ❑ an extravert

Are you mostly focused on...
present realities ❑ or ❑ future possibilities

Are you mostly...
trusting ❑ or ❑ sceptical

Are you mostly...
leisurely ❑ or ❑ punctual

Do you tend to...
stay calm ❑ or ❑ panic easily

Do you...
speak before thinking ❑ or ❑ think before speaking

Do you prefer to...
improve things ❑ or ❑ keep things as they are

Do you...
seek for truth ❑ or ❑ seek for peace

Do you...
dislike detailed planning ❑ or ❑ like detailed planning

Do you...
frequently get irritated ❑ or ❑ rarely get irritated

Are you happier with...
uncertainty ❑ or ❑ certainty

Are you...
up in the air ❑ or ❑ down to earth

Are you...
warm-hearted ❑ or ❑ fair-minded

Are you mostly...
unbothered by things ❑ or ❑ easily bothered

Are you...
systematic ❑ or ❑ casual

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Do you mostly...
feel secure ❑ or ❑ feel insecure

Do you...
dislike parties ❑ or ❑ like parties

Do you...
prefer to design ❑ or ❑ prefer to make

Do you...
tend to be firm ❑ or ❑ tend to be gentle

Do you like to be...
in control ❑ or ❑ adaptable

Do you tend to...
stay stable ❑ or ❑ have mood swings

Are you...
energised by others ❑ or ❑ drained by too many people

Are you...
conventional ❑ or ❑ inventive

Are you...
critical ❑ or ❑ affirming

Are you happier...
working alone ❑ or ❑ working in groups

Do you tend to...
get angry quickly ❑ or ❑ remain placid

Do you tend to be more...
socially detached ❑ or ❑ socially involved

Do you tend to be more concerned...
for meaning ❑ or ❑ about details

Do you tend to be more...
logical ❑ or ❑ humane

Do you tend to be more...
orderly ❑ or ❑ easygoing

Do you tend to feel...
guilty about things ❑ or ❑ guilt-free

Are you more...
talkative ❑ or ❑ reserved

Are you more...
sensible ❑ or ❑ imaginative

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HAVE YOU ANY HELPFUL COMMENTS THAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO MAKE ABOUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE?

PLEASE MAKE SURE YOU HAVE ANSWERED ALL THE QUESTIONS
THANK YOU FOR YOUR HELP

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THE UNIVERSITY OF
WARWICK

Temple contact name .....
Temple contact no. .....

Young People's Values: Survey Participation Card

In the period 2011-15 the University of Warwick have funded research to find out more about the identity and religiosity of Buddhist teenagers growing up in Britain. The research comprises a survey of about 1,000 teenagers. You may have been approached by a contact in your temple to join this survey. To be eligible, you need to be in the age range 13-20. Rest assured your contributions to the research will be anonymous and confidential. Additionally, in the interests of informed consent, if you are under 16 you also need to obtain the signature of your parents *(bottom right hand corner of this card)*. When you have completed this card, please return it to your temple contact by the deadline of 30 September 2013. You will then receive a copy of the survey to fill in. *Participants may, without penalty, up to the time data is anonymized withdraw their consent for use of their data.* The researcher will enter participants completing the survey in lucky draw to win one of three free iPads (you have a 1 in 333 chance of winning one!)

❒ Yes! I would like to take part in a temple-going Buddhist teenagers survey. I submit my contact details as follows:

Name..... Surname ..... Age .....

Home Address .....

..... Postcode .....

Mobile Phone no.: ..... Home phone no.: .....

email: .....

Temple attended: .....

INFORMED CONSENT: TO BE COMPLETED BY PARENTS/ GUARDIANS OF PARTICIPANTS UNDER 16 YEARS OF AGE

❒ Yes! As parent/guardian of the teenager on the left, I give permission for him/her to participate in the Buddhist teenagers focus groups.

Signature ..... Date .....

Print Full Name .....

One additional question for parents....
If there were a Buddhist Free School in your local catchment area, would you prefer your children to attend it?
❒ Yes ❒ No ❒ Not Certain

In case of queries, do not hesitate to contact the researcher by phone (- number -) or email p.n.thanissaro@warwick.ac.uk

PLEASE RETURN THIS CARD TO YOUR BUDDHIST TEMPLE CONTACT BY 30 SEPTEMBER 2013

STRICTLY PRIVATE AND CONFIDENTIAL

PHRA THANISSARO
2 BRUSHFIELD WAY
KNAPHILL
WOKING
SURREY
UNITED KINGDOM
GU21 2TG

36460001

A copy of this Disclosure has been sent to:

MICHAEL YOULTON
ADMISSIONS OFFICER
UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK
UNIVERSITY HOUSE
COVENTRY
WEST MIDLANDS
UNITED KINGDOM
CV4 8UW

Applicant copy

Enhanced Disclosure

disclosure

Page 1 of 2

Disclosure Number 001188655963

Date of Issue: 19 FEBRUARY 2008

Applicant Personal Details

Surname: THANISSARO

Forename(s): PHRA NICHOLAS

Other Names: WOODS, PHRA NICHOLAS
WOODS, NICHOLAS

Date of Birth: 29 SEPTEMBER 1965

Place of Birth: SOUTHWARK LONDON

Gender: MALE

Employment Details

Position applied for:
EDUCATION RESEARCH

Name of Employer:
THE UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

Countersignatory Details

Registered Person/Body:
UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK

Countersignatory:
MICHAEL YOULTON

Police Records of Convictions, Cautions, Reprimands and Final Warnings

NONE RECORDED

Information from the list held under Section 142 of the Education Act 2002

NONE RECORDED

Protection of Children Act List information

NONE RECORDED

Protection of Vulnerable Adults List information

NONE RECORDED

Other relevant information disclosed at the Chief Police Officer(s) discretion

NONE RECORDED

Enhanced Disclosure

This document is an Enhanced Criminal Record Certificate within the meaning of sections 113B and 116 of the Police Act 1997.

Use of Disclosure information

Continued on page 2

THIS DISCLOSURE IS NOT EVIDENCE OF IDENTITY

CRB Criminal Records Bureau, PO Box 165, Liverpool, L69 3JD Helpline: 0870 90 90 844

36460002

Page 2 of 2 **Disclosure Number** 001188655963

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Customer Service (Disputes): PO Box 165, Liverpool, L69 3JD

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Web www.crb.gov.uk
www.disclosure.gov.uk
Email info@crb.gsi.gov.uk

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End of Details